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BY JOHN HARMON

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College and School News

Storer College was host in July to the Ninth Annual Conference for Ministers and Christian Workers. The enrollment was 45. Dr. M. C. Allen of Baltimore delivered the key note sermon.

The new Permelia Eastman Cook Hall for women has been a notable improvement to the beauty of the Storer campus.

The bulletin of The **Morgan State College** for July features a thoughtful and critical article by Ollington E. Smith on "What's Wrong With the Negro Theatre."

Leon Edward Wright, teacher of Latin, has resigned to enter the field of religion as teacher and trained worker.

West Virginia State College opened in August a special professional course for the summer training of teachers of adults under the educational program of the Works Projects Administration. A school for religious workers was held during July.

Robert J. Blanton has been appointed Registrar and member of the Department of Education. He is an alumnus of and former teacher at Hampton Institute, and is a Master of Education in vocational guidance from the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He is now completing work for a doctorate degree.

The seminar in Latin American Culture and Affairs closed on July 26. West Virginia State College was the first college in the State and the first educational institution for Negroes in the United States to offer a course of this type to promote acquaintance with Hispanic America.

Miss Mary L. Williams, teacher in the Garnet High School of Charleston, W. Va. was elected president of the American Teachers Association at its July 22-26 session at Arkansas State College, Pine Bluff, Ark.

A safety education institute was opened August 2, in cooperation with New York University.

On July 19, began the largest summer

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school ever held by the seven Negro institutions of higher learning in Atlanta. Cooperating with **Atlanta University** in conducting the session were Morehouse, Spelman, Clark and Morris Brown Colleges, the Atlanta University School of Social Work, and the Gammon Theological Seminary. Eight hundred and six were enrolled in the session, 254 men and 552 women. The most popular department in the session was education with 387 students enrolled. Students came from 25 states, the District of Columbia and the Bahamas Islands.

At the closing exercises of the French Institute at the Atlanta University Summer School, two prizes were won by Miss Frances Hayes of Lynchburg, Va. A third prize was won by Miss Katherine King of Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. James Hardy Dillard, general agent of the Jeanes and Slater Funds from 1908 to 1931, and for whom **Dillard University** was named, died August 1, at his Charlottesville, Va., home at the age of 84 years. He was active in educational circles for 60 years, filling many appointive positions with distinction.

Rudolph Moses, Associate Professor of English and head of the Division of Literature and Fine Arts, has been appointed acting dean in charge, an action necessitated by the resignation of Dr. William S. Nelson, the president, who will assume the deanship of the Howard University School of Religion on September 1.

Allison Davis, professor of Social Anthropology at Dillard is co-author of "Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South." A resident at the University of Chicago on leave from Dillard, Mr. Davis has recently been appointed a staff member of the Division of Child Development and Teacher Personnel, Commission on Teacher Education, at the University of Chicago for the duration of his leave.

Samuel Alexander Barksdale of South Boston, Va., has been appointed assistant coach and assistant dean of men at **Shaw University.** He has a B.S. degree from Virginia Union University and a M.A. degree from the University of Michigan. For seven years he was assistant coach and dean of men at Virginia Union University and for two years he served in similar capacity at A. & T. College. Mr. Barksdale goes to Shaw from Madison High School where he was principal.

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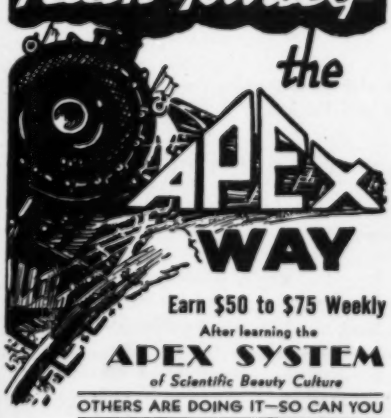

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alternate are: Everett L. Beane of Boston, Mass., senior in the College of Liberal Arts, $350 for travel and study in Mexico; Francisco Corneiro of St. Thomas, V. I., (1940 graduate), $200 for special study in Puerto Rico; George N. Leighton of New Bedford, Mass., (1940), $400 for study of Southern Tenant Farmer's Union; Wendell M. Lucas of Washington, D. C., (1940), $400 for study of industrial methods in chemical manufacturing in U. S.; James T. Wright of Elizabeth, N. J., a junior in the College of Liberal Arts, $300 for study of community reactions in South to the Negro problem; William J. Davis of Cuthbert, Ga., graduate student in political science alternate.

This is the third series of fellowships since the establishment of the fund of $51,434 left for this purpose by the late Dr. Lucy E. Moten, principal of Miner Teachers College.

The Postgraduate Course in Venereal Disease Control will continue according to Dr. Numa P. G. Adams, Dean of the School of Medicine. The course will be given in three sessions of three months each, beginning September 21, 1940, January 4, 1941 and March 22, 1941. Registration will be limited to six during each session. Physicians taking the course must have graduated from an approved medical school within the past ten years and must have spent at least one year as an interne in an approved hospital. Applications must be approved by the State Health Officer. Students will receive a stipend of $100 per month while in training.

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Volume 47, No. 9 *Whole No. 357*

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The Crisis *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* The Crisis *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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THE COVER

Miss Bobbie Jeanne Anderson of Los Angeles, Calif., is the Grand Prize Winner in THE CRISIS Beautiful Child Contest. She is eight years old. Summary of the contest and photos of other prize winners on page 286.

NEXT MONTH

George Padmore contributes another of his informative articles on international affairs entitled "England's West Indian Slums."

•

There will be an article on Crispus Attucks by William Harrison entitled "First Martyr to American Independence."

•

Lois Taylor will also contribute an article on the New York City Housing Aid Project."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

John H. Harmon, a native Texan, is an official of the International Workers Order.

•

Samuel A. Rosenberg is an associate professor at Hampton Institute where he has taught for 11 years. He has been actively interested in the improvement of economic conditions for Negroes.

•

Marian Minus lives in New York City. She graduated from Fisk Univ. in 1935, has majored in Anthropology at the Univ. of Chicago, and was formerly co-editor of *The New Challenge*.

•

Alfred Baker Lewis is an N.A.A.C.P. Director and Secretary of the Association's Boston, Mass., Branch.

Editorials

Editor, ROY WILKINS

Advisory Board: Lewis Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, William Allan Neilson, Walter White, Charles Edward Russell, Carl Murphy, John Hammond

Still Dodging on Anti-Lynching Bill

A FEW days ago the New York *Daily News* carried a letter in its Vox Pop column predicting a sweeping victory for Wendell L. Willkie and detailing the blocs of votes the Republican candidate would get, including the colored vote, "because the present administration has been faithless on the anti-lynching bill."

The coming weeks will prove whether the writer of that letter has more political sense than Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader of the upper house, who announced recently that he does not intend to call up the bill for a vote at this session.

Senator Barkley denies making a promise in a speech to Negro Democrats in Chicago, July 14, that the bill would be called up. He says he was misquoted by reporters, and that national defense legislation makes it impossible to call up the anti-lynching bill.

We have expressed the view that it would be sound, practical politics for the majority party to bring up and pass this bill before the election. The party is in a hole. It is decidedly on the defensive. It has far more opponents, both within and without, than it had in 1936. The Chicago convention was not smartly run. No longer does the practiced hand of James A. Farley handle the throttle of the political machine. In short, the Democrats need every vote they can get. They need the electoral votes of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Missouri. In a tight fight the Negro voters in these states can determine the issue. Next to jobs, security, and fair treatment in the Army and Navy, the thing these voters want most is for the federal government to outlaw mob violence and lynching. Moreover, they have a tendency to judge the faith of the Democrats on every issue by what they do on the anti-lynching bill. The Democrats can do good for themselves by passing this bill.

The U. S. Navy Is For White Men

SECRETARY of the Navy Frank Knox has announced officially that Negroes can be accepted into the United States Navy only as mess attendants. Secretary Knox says he regrets the situation, but that is the way it is.

We hope American Negro citizens appreciate fully what this policy means to them. There is more to all this than standing on the deck of a warship in a white uniform. To be stigmatized by being denied the opportunity of serving one's country in full combat service in the Navy is humiliating enough. But the real damage and the greater injustice is in denying a tenth of the citizens of this country any benefit whatsoever from the billions of dollars spent on the Navy.

Our taxes help to keep up the naval academy at Annapolis, Md., where our boys may not attend. They help to maintain the numerous naval bases, navy yards, and naval air bases from which we are excluded. Of the great sums which go for wages and salaries we get but a few pennies. The training in numerous trades and skills which thousands of white enlisted men receive and use later in civilian life is not for us. The health care, the character building, the training in efficiency, the travel and education—all at the expense of the taxpayers—are for whites only.

This is the price we pay for being classified, as a race, as mess attendants only. At the same time we are supposed to be able to appreciate what our white fellow citizens declare to be the "vast difference" between American Democracy and Hitlerism.

Willkie Speaks

DURING political campaigns and in between times, it should be remembered that the great quarrel of Negro citizens with candidates, office holders, and parties is not with what they *say*, but with what they *do*. Therefore, THE CRISIS has little fault to find with what Wendell L. Willkie, the Republican nominee, said in his acceptance speech at Elwood, Indiana, insofar as direct racial issues are concerned. Mr. Willkie told how his ancestors had fled from Central Europe because "their opportunities were restricted by discriminatory laws . . . one was persecuted because he believed in the principles of the French revolution, and still another was jailed for insisting on the right of free speech."

He declared: "France believed in the forms of democracy and in the idea of freedom. But she failed to put them to use. . . ."

The Republican standard-bearer then pledged an America "free of hate and bitterness, of racial and class distinction."

All of which sounds fine, but does Mr. Willkie or the Republican party really mean it? This is the great question which Negro voters will have to ponder in the coming weeks. An America free of racial hatred and bitterness means to us an America where the federal government will not stand idly by under its Constitution and Bill of Rights and permit mobs to lynch and burn; where a race will not be denied opportunity to achieve merely because of color; where it can vote freely upon the kind of government it wants; where it can secure employment, housing, and education without special restrictions; where it can move freely about the country unhampered by insulting and discriminatory treatment.

There is little in the record of Mr. Willkie or the Republican party which indicates clearly that this is the kind of America he or it wants. Perhaps Mr. Willkie really means to hand out another "new deal" if he should be given the chance. Perhaps so. But there is a rumor which will not down that Mr. Willkie's home town had, until a few years ago, a sign at the intersection of its main street warning Negroes to stay out. That is the atmosphere from which Mr. Willkie springs. He may have outgrown it. But for us it is much more important than why his ancestors came to Indiana.

Too Dark for the Army Air Corps

A YOUNG Negro student at the University of Minnesota finished the air pilots' training course there under the Civil Aeronautics Board, made an excellent record, and, along with several of his white classmates applied at the armory on the campus for further training in the United States Army Air Corps. The young white lieutenant on duty accepted the white boys, but told the Negro: "there is no place in the Army air corps for Negroes."

A month later the Negro student applied in Canada for further training to join eventually the Royal Air Force of Great Britain. He was accepted and notified that he would be called up later. Of course Hitler's bombers are not dropping death and destruction on Boston, New York, and Washington. If that time should ever come, then everyone would become brothers overnight and the air corps would have room for anyone who could stay in the air for as long as thirty minutes.

Black Cowboys Are Real

By John H. Harmon

From the earliest days of the American cattle industry Negro cowboys have won fame and livelihood on the ranges of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska and Wyoming. Usually twice as capable as the average cowboy and willing to do more work, they were often chosen for the most exacting tasks. The writer tells here the story of the romantic characters whose exploits have hitherto been unsung

OH! how boyish hearts thrill over the coming weekend when they are to go to the corner movie to see Tom Mix, William S. Hart, the Lone Ranger and all of the two-gun Bronc-Busting cowboys strut across the silver sheet. Fake accidents, roping, Indian Fighters, desperados, fisticuffs, and what-have-you is the real thing for young male movie-goers and many of the adults as well.

Well this is America and cowboys and hoss riders are good old American tradition. So, we all like it, adults and children, but if most of the scenario writers and authors are correct it also is a representation of another phase of American life, namely, JIM-CROW. Never, no! Never have I seen a real Negro cowboy in an American movie and I do know that there were many hundreds with a skill and a reputation that would make some of the "Dudes" of the silver sheet shudder with shame. The very mention of a Negro cowboy makes most people lift a doubtful brow and especially those naïve easterners. Well it has been true about any number of things that Negroes can do or have done, the prejudiced writers and historians have just refused to tell it. Cowmen, as we somehow think, are usually men of great courage, skill and ability and to give Negroes such attributes might lift them a bit too high in the minds of young Americans. So, our boys and girls, yes Negro boys and girls too, are led to believe that all the brave strong boys of the range days were pure white. It is, however, for the joy and pride of Negro boys and girls that I want to tell about a few Negro Cowmen who won fame and a livlihood on the range.

Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and Wyoming are the Cow states. Throughout the world the Texas Longhorn is a famous breed of cattle. It was in these states that the Open Range developed to renown. Those were the days when cattle grazed freely for miles upon miles with no fences as hindrances. It was only through the brand that the owner could identify his stock. Thus we get the "101" and the Mavericks. This was the kind of a country where it took real cowmen with skill to handle wild bulls, mean steers, and the Texas mustangs. A stampede was about the worst thing a cowpuncher could run into. Cowboys had to be pretty good marksmen because the cow rustlers will shoot when hemmed in, because cows brought good money in those days and the rustlers weren't stealing cattle for their health.

During these days (1867-1890) there were few railroads in the west and cattle had to be driven overland to the railheads in Kansas and in Louisiana. The routes they took in these cattle drives were called trails, one of the more famous was the "Old Chisolm Trail" which wound its way from out around Cuero and Victoria in West Texas all the way through Oklahoma, up to Abilene, Kansas where it met the railhead. These drives were the regular thing after the Civil War and took from two to three months to reach their destination. Herds of two to three thousand were nothing to become excited over, except when they were stampeded by the Indians or the Cow Rustlers.

William Coleman, foreman of the Spade Ranch, Wharton County, Texas, operated by Duncan Brothers, Egypt, Texas. Mr. Coleman has worked continuously on this ranch for 50 years

It was on these drives that the Negro Cowmen often got their break. They were usually chosen because they were twice as good as the average cowboy and were willing to do twice as much work because they needed a job. They were fellows of unusual strength. It was customary for them to do the toughest work of the outfit, such as topping wild horses, testing swollen streams, handling the wildest cattle, operating the chuck wagon and often washing for the outfit. Negro cowboys often joke about how they have topped half dozens of wild horses before preparing the breakfast meal.

Down in South Texas from Victoria and Cuero to the Louisiana border there were and are today some excellent Negro cowhands. In this section the custom is to employ entire Negro outfits, with Negro foremen and managers. Today most of the larger ranches in this section are completely managed by Negroes.

Among the first of the Negro cowpunchers to gain fame was Bill Pickett of Williamston County, Texas, and also of the famous "101" Ranch. Bill nearly forty years ago introduced the bulldogging of steers from a running horse and to make the pace harder he gripped a steer by the nose with his teeth and threw him. Believe it or not, it's true. This is all the more exciting when you know that Bill Pickett was a very small man, but unusually stout. According to the best informed of cowmen his equal has never been found. For those who doubt my word, I would like to have them at their leisure consult no more eloquent authority than the Cattleman (Feb. 1936), which is a publication of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association.

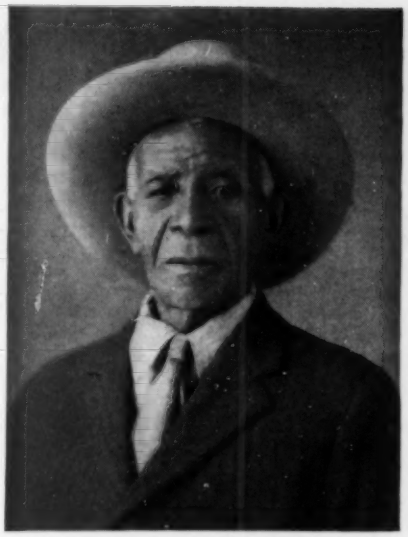
Sherman Russaw, an old timer, who lives today in Houston, Texas, told me that he started cow-punching in 1882. He worked at Widow Ryan's Ranch at "Dead Creek" in 1884 and during that same year he went with a herd of cattle to Dodge City, Kansas, grazing them up the Old Chisolm Trail. Russaw claimed to have ridden some of the worst horses that ever hoofed the ground, and in a truthful aftertone, he stated that with the best of riders he often found himself on the ground. 1921, he went with a herd of 8,000 cattle by boat from Galveston to Havana and stayed there until 1923. He had in his possession when I visited his room an old pearl handle six-shooter, a thirty-

thirty Winchester and scabbard, a ten gallon Cowboy hat and a pair of boots with Mexican dollars on them. If he yet lives today he can be found around the yards of the Port City Stock Yards, Houston, Texas.

Three years ago, Major Powell, Negro, was more than 75 years old and was still a breakin' hosses in Jackson County, Texas. He worked with the Branch Brothers Outfit of Edna, Texas as long as they were in the business.

Victoria, Texas was a center of Negro Cowmen. There was Mose Herron of Pleasant Green Community, who went up the Chisolm Trail thirteen times. Jeff Charleston, Guadulupe Community, George Grant of De Costa Community, M. F. Rose of West Side River, Nat Robinson and Bill Green were all residents of Victoria, Texas and known widely for their cowmanship. Mrs. Deliah Joshua, a Negro woman of Victoria is a ranch owner. Tom Ball still works for J. F. Welder, Jr. in Victoria County as a wagon cook. He is rated also as one of the best ropers in this section. There are Paul and Sandy Wimbish, "Toad" Green, all of Cuero, who have gone up the Trail many times.

Directly south of Houston, Texas down towards the coast is another section of the cow country where the Negro cowmen predominate. Boot Stevenson, of the George Dewe Ranch, Dewalt, Texas; Gus Jones, foreman of the Joe D. Hughes Ranch, Chocolate Bayou, Harris County, Texas; Will Gordon, formerly of the Pearson Ranch, League City, Texas; Jack Brinkley, foreman of Rev. Wm. States Jacobs Ranch, Harris County; are all Negroes whose reputation in the cattle business is unchallenged. Steve Ray, deceased, of Sandy Point, Texas, was cream of the crop when it came to bull dogging with his teeth. He usually won all the first



The late D. W. "80 John" Wallace, member Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association for over 30 years, who died in 1939

prizes at the rodeo sponsored annually by the Negro Cowboys at Sandy Point.

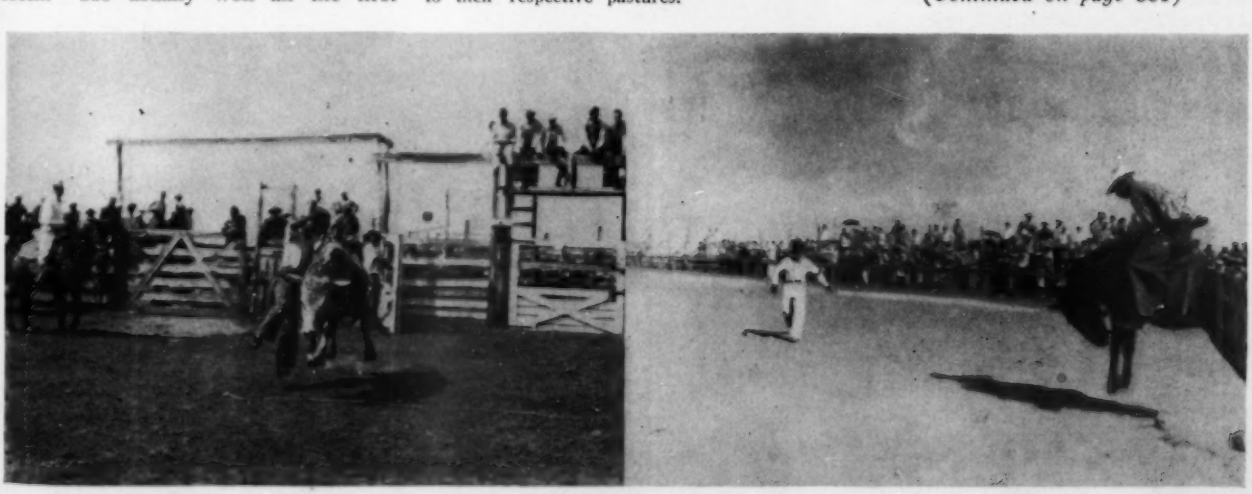
Sandy Point was the Rodeo Headquarters because it was the cut-out* point for the herds coming back to the pasture after winter grazing on the salt grasses of the coast. What fun and thrills are to be had at one of these Rodeos. Madison Square Garden Rodeos have nothing on these boys. Talking about bareback riding, sidewise, standing riding, roping of all sorts, bull throwing, hog-riding and many stunts that will make the very hair rise on your head are the things these boys do down there in Texas, and they are Negroes, too. Merchants and the cowmen put up cash prizes ranging upwards into large sums for the best performers. There are also prizes that cowboys long after such as revolvers, chaps, ten-gallon hats and the like. When the stunts are over, the gaiety begins. All day long, whole cows, pigs, and goats have been turning in earthen pits over solid oak logs and at night fall great slugs of luscious pork, beef or kid with equally as large hunks of bread are served with good old Texas beer, which by the way is some of the best in the country. When the eating is over some good cowboy band begins to whine away on the stomps that the boys enjoy so very much. When they get *full* the dance begins in earnest and far into a night of cowboy paradise.

*Cut-out point was the place where cowboys separated their herds and carried them to their respective pastures.

Coaley Owens, was another famous Negro chuck wagon cook, who spent his life on the 6666 Ranch. When the ranch owner S. B. Burnett died he left Owens a pension of thirty dollars per month for life. Owens was 90 years old in 1936 and lived in Benjamin, Texas.

Most of the Negro cowmen were typical of their fellow workers, happy-go-lucky, and not bothered about the future. There were a few, however, who recognized what was happening in the cow game around 1870 and thereafter. They discovered that anyone who wanted to stay in the game had to have his own pasture land. The cattle industry was settling down to a business-like basis with all of the thrill of riding the trail passing as the rails and the population penetrated the cow-country. Those few Negroes who saw far enough into the future and who had saved a few dollars to invest made a place for themselves in the cattle-game that no one can deny. William Patton, Dave Gill and D. W. (80 John) Wallace were three who stand out among the leading cattle men of the country today.

(*Continued on page* 301)



Bull Riding *Bronc Riding*

Negro Rodeo at the Duncan Ranch, Eagle Lake, Texas

Negro-Managed Cooperatives In Virginia

By Samuel A. Rosenberg

Consumers' Cooperatives have been advocated frequently as a partial solution to the Negro's economic problem. Here is the story of two enterprises of this type in Virginia. It shows what can be done to attain economic freedom by the people themselves through intelligent co-operation in consumption

ONE of the chief obstacles to success for Negroes in business, particularly small business, is lack of capital. This difficulty has been overcome by mutual insurance companies and other concerns which have made use of the technique of securing capital by having many interested people (owners) invest small amounts of money in the business. That technique has been used in the past by so-called big business and is now being used by small business. It is part of the program of cooperation that was started about a hundred years ago by 28 hungry workers of Rochdale, England.

The basic principles of cooperatives as laid down by the Rochdale weavers include democratic control wherein each member has one vote no matter how much money he has invested. No member can vote by proxy; he must be present at the stockholders' meeting in order to vote. Money is necessary, but men are more important than money. There is no distinction as to race, creed, color, class, or sex.

A second principle is that profits made shall be returned to the members as a patronage dividend according to the amount of goods they have purchased. If profits are made, it really means that the members have paid too much for goods purchased, and the patronage dividend is really a rebate. It must be remembered that prices in a cooperative store are the same as those of any competitor.

A third principle is that a fixed rate of interest shall be paid on capital invested. Other cooperative rules stipulate that sales shall be made for cash only; that labor shall be fairly treated; that a portion of the profits shall be set aside for education; and that cooperatives shall cooperate with each other.

President Roosevelt's Committee on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe has defined a cooperative in the following way: "A cooperative enterprise is one which belongs to the people who use its services, the control of which rests equally with all members, and the gains of which are distributed to the members in proportion to the use they make of its services." Consumers, and everyone is a consumer, supply the capital, run the business, use the services of the business, and receive the gains of the business. As Mr. Homer Rose, manager of the "Red Circle" cooperative, said: "The manager of the chain store across the street says 'Happy New Year' on the first of the year. The manager of the 'Red Circle,' in addition to saying Happy New Year, gives you a basket of groceries. I leave the answer to you. Does it pay to cooperate?"

In order for a cooperative to succeed there must be a felt need for it. The need must manifest itself in group action in an attempt to better the economic condition of the people in the community. In Virginia this felt need demonstrated itself in two widely separated communities at about the same time.

The first consumers' cooperative in the State of Virginia had its genesis in the Red Circle Stores Association. The idea germinated in the mind of Mr. E. R. Storrs in 1927 and refused to be ousted. Ten years later, in the spring of 1937, the Executive Secretary of the Richmond Urban League spoke at a session of Bigger and Better Negro Business Week sponsored by the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity. He brought out some facts concerning the cooperative movement and the success of the cooperative store operated by Negroes in Gary, Indiana. This reawakened in the mind of Mr. E. R. Storrs the idea of a cooperative in Richmond as an answer to the needs of the community.

On June 17, 1937, thirty-five men met as a result of a call issued to 100 persons. The cooperative movement was discussed, and the enthusiasm of the group was such that each man joined the newly formed cooperative as-

Interior Red Circle Co-operative Store

sociation and paid his membership fee.

Immediately a campaign was launched for members. An educational campaign continued throughout the year with monthly meetings. After $1,200 had been collected from 125 members, a decision was made by the board of directors to open a grocery store selling meats. On October 11, 1938, the store first welcomed its members and customers to the tune of $350 in sales on that one day.

Trials and hardships began and the sledding was hard, but with the opening new enthusiasm was created, more members were secured, more stock was subscribed and sold, and the difficulties were surmounted. The location of the store is in the heart of the old Jackson Ward, directly across the street from a unit of the largest chain store in the United States. Shortly after the "Red Circle" opened its doors the chain store hired a Negro employee, the first in its history, in an effort to attract some of its old customers, but this did not succeed. Then the chain store started a cut-price war. Immediately the wholesalers came to the assistance of the Red Circle Cooperative and sold the cooperative goods at a price which enabled it to compete successfully. This was good business for the wholesalers because the "Red Circle" was one of their customers, whereas they did not do any business with the chain store.

The "Red Circle" regularly employs four people, whereas the chain employs merely a manager. Previously, the chain store had employed three people.

The "Red Circle" is now doing over $700 in business each week and has over 400 members. A dividend of 1% on purchases was paid to members last year. Today more capital is being raised to start a branch store in the west end of Richmond. Two years ago there was no first-class Negro managed grocery store in the City of Richmond. Today Richmond boasts a first-class consumers' cooperative, run by Negroes and operated successfully. The success of any store is reckoned by the service it gives and the profit it makes. Here are the facts.

One hundred thousand customers were served during 1939, a wonderful happening. Imagine! One hundred thousand people bought goods in the "Red Circle," and every one of these sales was made by a Negro. Also, imagine a Negro managed store selling goods for cash and only cash! How many times have you heard that it couldn't be done? Never before had that happened in Richmond.

The capital invested was $2,000, which earned a profit of $600 or a net earning of 30%. This remarkable success can be attributed to the members, shareholders, workers, and to the efficient service and management. The "Red Circle" has begun something which has startled Richmond and which may revolutionize the South. Group action in answer to a felt need produced excellent results. The germ of success was due to the fact that the organization was built from the bottom up and not from the top down.

In comparison with the Red Circle Stores Association is the Aberdeen Gardens Association. This consumers' cooperative was organized in Aberdeen Gardens, a government housing project which is located about three miles from Newport News, Va. Even before the housing project was completed, a small group of potential residents perceived the need for a cooperative store for the community. This group met weekly, planning and working towards the establishment of a cooperative store based on Rochdale principles. A loan of $2,000 was granted the cooperative by the Federal government, and shortly thereafter shares of stock were sold at $5 a share, of which $1 was the minimum down payment and the balance was to be paid within a year.

On November 17, 1938, the cooperative store was opened in a temporary location on the project at a time when there were only 50 families residing in Aberdeen Gardens. Groceries, meats and related items are sold. The cooperative operated at a loss until the summer of 1939. This was due to the lack of a sufficient volume of sales; but as the number of residents increased, losses turned into profits. Two people are regularly employed in the cooperative.

During 1939 the sales were $16,988.29, on which a net profit of $761.37 was earned. The directors voted and paid a 5% patronage dividend on every dollar of purchases. At times the members of this cooperative have been irked by so-called government interference or red tape, but on the other hand they are grateful to the government for lending them the money with which they started operations. Plans are under way for the erection of a permanent store and the enlarging of the business in the community. It is estimated that at the present time the people on the project spend 75% of their food budget at the cooperative store.

A comparison of the "Red Circle" in Richmond with the "Aberdeen Association" brings to light interesting facts. Both are operating on Rochdale principles. Both sell goods for cash and sell to members and non-members. No rent is paid by the Aberdeen Association, which is not true of the Red Circle Association. Capital in the "Red Circle" was raised by and from the members, whereas the major portion of capital ($2,000) in the Aberdeen Association came from the government and only $55 came from the members. Neither association has paid any interest on its capital stock. The cooperative at Aberdeen is paying interest at 3% to the Federal government on its loan, which is to be repaid over a period of years.

It seems that the "Red Circle" is based on a sounder foundation, due to the fact that the members have a greater stake in their association than do the members of the Aberdeen Association. The "Red Circle" has a good plan of education, whereas the Aberdeen cooperative has not yet made an effective start in this direction. Both cooperatives are cooperating with each other. The officials of one meet with the officials of the other to discuss plans and possibilities.

Here is democracy in the making. This is economic freedom on the march toward success. History is repeating itself. People have a reservoir of untold possibilities which may be tapped when the need is felt. The way out of our economic chaos is cooperatives.

Dedication

To James Weldon Johnson

By J. G. St. Clair Drake

You, who in the Dawn, gave songs
To those who yearned to sing;
Who brought America great gifts
They, too, would bring—
Sweet music from a gay-sad soul,
The well-wrought tale so subtly told—
Staunch leadership and courage, bold.

We shall not rest,
Oh Herald of the Rising Sun,
Until your song of Liberty
Breaks from the fear-hushed lips
Of those still chained—
The caste-bound black,
The class-bound white—
The shackled millions
Not yet free.

Till from the glades of your loved land
The People lift the voice and sing;
Till over every cane and cotton field
The heavens ring.
From every mill and pine-wood camp
Rejoicing, full, shall rise,
Swelling in triumph
Through the listening skies—
Echoes from a gloomy past
Drowned by a *new* song—
"Free at last!
Thank God-a-mighty,
Free at last!"

Girl, Colored

By Marian Minus

Girl, colored, to assist with housework and baby; must be reliable; $20 per month. German girl considered. Clark, 1112 Highdale Rd., Long Island City. Advt.

Carrie needed a job desperately. Mrs. Clark wanted a cook, a nurse and a general housework combined at twenty dollars a month, and sleep in. Carrie wanted to protest that it was much too little, but she was afraid the German girl would get the job

THE subway wormed its way through the tunnel that lay below the frenzy and filth of urban streets into the dripping tube that arched its back beneath the river. The air that came in through the half-opened windows was moist and musty, and Carrie's wide brown nostrils flared in sullen offense. She watched the thoughtful contortions of her face reflected in the mirror of the train window, her timid eyes large and staring.

Carrie had come out of the South, the red clay clinging to her misshapen heels, made migrant by the disintegration of a crumbling age. She had been unconscious of the transmission of idea and attitude from age to age until its outworn mechanism and wild momentum had forced her outside the terminals of habit and sour acceptance.

German girl considered. Fear was filling a place which not even thought had filled before.

The train converged on light, and roared upward onto high steel trestles. No longer able to see her face in the window, Carrie gave her attention to the neat brown paper bundle in her lap. Her thin fingers with their big knuckles smoothed out the wrinkles in the package. It held her stiffly starched white work dress, a pair of comfortable shoes, and a thick beef sandwich. Even if she got the job, she might not be provided with lunch. Her memory of fainting from hunger on the first day of her last job, six months before, was bitter-sharp.

As she left the train, Carrie hunched her shoulders in sudden fear that she would soon be retracing her steps. She hugged her parcel close to her breast.

"Number ten's over there," she said softly, gaining the street, "so number two must be down there a way."

She walked with a tread that was firmer than the resolution in her heart in the direction of her reasoning. For six months she had answered advertisements. She had related the necessary details of her life to prospective "madams," and she had returned beaten and cynical to her basement room.

She went through a gate and up a gravel path to a small brick house. Her nervous hands played with a dull knocker until sound was forced from the beat of brass on wood. A pale blond woman opened the door. Wisps of inoffensive hair strayed from the leather thongs of a dozen curlers set at variance on her head.

"Yes?" The woman's voice was spuriously cheerful.

"I come about the job," said Carrie.

The woman opened the door wider. "Come in."

Carrie followed her into an untidy living room.

"We'll go into the kitchen," the woman said, pointing ahead.

Carrie's eyes flickered professionally about the room and her nose lifted on its wide base. They walked through to the kitchen, and she saw the table cluttered with unwashed dishes.

The woman waved her to a seat. "Sit down," she said briefly.

Carrie found a chair and settled on its edge, resting her package on her knees.

"My name is Clark," the woman said. "Mrs. Cado P. Clark."

"I'm Carrie Johnson," Carrie said quickly. She did not have the inclination or energy for a prolonged interview.

"Have you references?" Mrs. Clark asked.

"Yes." A flash of anger that started somewhere deep within her lighted Carrie's eyes. She resented being asked for information before being given any.

"I'll want to see them later," said Mrs. Clark.

Carrie gave her prospective employer an impatient glance. They measured each other in momentary silence. Carrie was the first to speak.

"You want somebody to help with the housework and the baby?" she asked. "At twenty a month?"

"Yes, I do," Mrs. Clark answered. "I want a reliable person. Someone I can put utter trust in."

Carrie did not speak. She smiled wryly and dropped her eyes.

"Have you had much experience?" Mrs. Clark asked. "Have you had to take much responsibility, I mean?"

Carrie shrugged weary shoulders. "I reckon so," she answered shortly. "I been on jobs where I had to do everything under the sun, and I did it. Guess that's being reliable."

Mrs. Clark gave her a sharp look. She murmured unintelligibly.

"Ain't that the right answer to your question?" Carrie parried maliciously.

"Right answer?" Mrs. Clark inquired. "You mean you're trying to give me the answers you think you ought to give, instead of just telling the truth?"

Carrie shrugged again. "I guess I didn't make myself clear," she said in simulated apology.

Mrs. Clark's face brightened. She took a deep breath.

"I want someone to clean, help with the cooking, look after the baby, and do general things about the house," she explained.

"'Bout how long would the hours be?" Carrie asked.

Mrs. Clark calculated quickly. "Well, my husband gets up at seven. He takes breakfast about seven-thirty then he goes to his office. I've been getting his breakfast, but if I get a girl, that'll be changed, of course."

"Oh, certainly," Carrie said with

(Continued on page 297)

Dictatorship and Democracy

By Alfred Baker Lewis

I HOPE I may be allowed to take exception to the editorial on "War and Dictatorship," reprinted from the *Chicago Defender* in your July issue, explaining that dictatorship has come to England.

Extensive powers, for war time only, have been granted by vote of Parliament to the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. But this is not a Fascist dictatorship. The determination of the representatives of the majority of the people to pass regulations to see to it that the productive capacity of the country is used in the way they want it to be used is not dictatorship, and that is what has been established in Britain. Reactionary owners of industry, of course, have always called any such economic planning and control over industry established by the representatives of the people a dictatorship. The reason is that they are opposed to such planning and control because they want to use industry for their purposes, namely, to turn out the greatest possible profits for the owners, instead of for the purposes approved by the representatives of the people. Apparently the *Chicago Defender* has been misled by this reactionary propaganda.

The control by the government over industry has been established in England by vote of the representatives of the people. Parliament still meets. It has unseated one Prime Minister since the war began and may, if the majority wishes, unseat another one. Various political parties exist, and demands are freely voiced in the press and elsewhere for changes in the cabinet. All this is the opposite of dictatorship and is decidedly not Fascism.

Fascism, both of the Mussolini and Hitler type as a peace time ideal and not just temporarily for war time, involves the destruction of democracy, all rights of free speech, press and assemblage, and all rights of free election after discussion. So far as Negroes are concerned, it means also denial of all opportunities for higher education, as this is part of Hitler's program, in accordance with his well known characterization of Negroes as half apes. Fascism as a peace time ideal means government by the "Fuehrer," or dictatorship, principle, according to which the dictator can do no wrong and conversely all who criticize or oppose him are doing wrong. Hitler has carried this principle so far that he is guilty of the personal murder of one of his opponents, Capt. Roehm. No one can legally seek to change the policy of the government, that is of the dictator, in any way. To do so means the concentration camp and possibly death or torture.

In democratic countries such as England, the government may not do the right thing, may even do the wrong thing frequently. But it permits regularly in peace time, and at least as an ideal in war time, criticism of the government's shortcomings and organization to try to make changes in the government's policy accordingly.

Such an organization as the N.A.A.C.P., for example, would be illegal in Germany even in peace time, while comparable organizations exist and function in Britain during war time, and have won concessions throwing open to colored men certain branches and ranks in the armed forces heretofore closed to them.

When the *Chicago Defender* speaks of the necessity for preserving civil liberties as part of the fight against Fascism, it is on sound ground. But when it states or implies that that is sufficient, it is flying in the face of the lessons of recent history. There were civil rights and democracy in Finland, Norway and Denmark. But that was not enough to keep them safe from Fascist aggression. Arms of the most up to date kind are also necessary; and so is the training for all the people in how to use such arms, for modern war is a highly technical affair and cannot be carried on merely by courageous but untrained believers in democracy.

The fight against Fascism and Hitlerism has two phases. One is the preservation of our civil rights and gaining them where they have not been won. Luckily in a democracy we have the right to keep up the agitation necessary for winning our liberty where it is denied. The other is determined action, economic and perhaps even military, against the armed aggression which sooner or later is everywhere characteristic of dictatorship.

All believers in peace, in democracy, in labor's right to organize, or in such principles for which the N.A.A.C.P. stands, must necessarily be at war with the spirit of Hitlerism. Whether that war becomes an actual military conflict or not depends chiefly on what Hitler and Mussolini (with such aid as they can get from their brother dictators in Russia and Japan) may decide to do to us, not merely on our own desire to be peaceful.

One of the best methods for preserving our own safety as well as helping to insure the eventual re-establishment of democratic principles throughout the world, is to give all possible economic aid to those countries like England who are already doing battle against Fascism. For, whatever may have been true of the origins of this war, the outcome of the war will determine whether or not men in Europe and in many other parts of the world will have the elementary democratic right to express their wishes to the government, demand their rights from the government, and organize to try to make their demands upon the government effective. If England wins, these rights will be preserved, so that even though the government may not always live up to democratic principles, people will have the right to demand that the government change its policy if it fails to do so. If Hitler and Mussolini win, these elementary democratic rights will be destroyed, and the principle that the Germans and their supporters are a master race and all the others slave races, to be exploited or perhaps even exterminated, will be enthroned to such an extent that anyone voicing belief in democracy or in racial equality will be suppressed completely.

The Blessed

By WILLENE MILLER

Oh who am I
That I should stand alone
Beneath a windswept sky
And know it for my own?
Oh who am I that my two hands
May pluck and hold
This leaf that has not finished turning
From its summer green to Autumn gold?
And white, white snowflakes,
Like a thousand tiny birds seeking shelter, fly
Against my face, caressing me.
Oh who am I
That I should know such ecstasy?
This warm, brown earth is mine?
That I may lay my ear
Against its friendly breast
And waiting hear
The pulse of life beneath the sod.
Oh who am I to be so much
Beloved by God?

Winners in The Crisis Beautiful Child Contest

2nd Prize—*Robert Daigre Baranco, Baton Rouge, La., is just over 3 years old. His parents are Dr. and Mrs. R. M. Baranco, 649 S. Sixtheenth St. His father is a medical doctor*

3rd Prize—*Dorothy Mae White, Institute, W. Va., is five years old. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Richard White, and Mr. White is a laborer for the American Vico Co.*

THE CRISIS takes pleasure in presenting herewith the seven winners in its beautiful child contest which began May 1 and ended August 1, 1940. In accordance with the rules of the contest, the three impartial judges selected for the July issue the six most beautiful children whose photographs had been presented thus far. The July winners were Bobbie Jeanne Anderson, Los Angeles, Calif.; Barbara Jane Bryant, Kansas City, Mo.; Philip Moore Bass, 3rd, Morristown, N. J.; June Louise Davis, Plainfield, N. J.; Augustus Lee Eggleston, Huntington, W. Va.; and Joyce Eleanor Le Blanc, Baton Rouge, La.

The six August winners were Robert Daigre Baranco, Baton Rouge, La.; Archie William Douglas, Columbia, S. C.; Alphonso and Alonza Pinder, Miami, Fla.; James Madison Nabrit, III, Washington, D. C.; Gertrude Roberta Scott, Henderson, N. C.; and Ruben Altiery Whitby, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Sixty-Two Entries

After the August 1, 1940 deadline, the total entries for the three months of the contest was sixty-two. The entire group was sent to the three judges in turn who respectively indicated their first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth choices regardless of previous preliminary selections for the July and August issues. A first place counted for six points, a second place for five points, a third place for four points, a fourth place for three points, a fifth place for two points and a sixth place for one point. The child receiving the greatest number of points was adjudged the Grand Prize Winner. There was a tie for fifth place between Joyce Allene Harper of Phoenix, Ill., and Gertrude Roberta Scott of Henderson, N. C. The fifth prize of two dollars is being awarded to each.

4th Prize—*James Madison Nabrit, 3rd, Washington, D. C., is just over eight years old. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. James M. Nabrit of 654 Girard St., N.W. Mr. Nabrit is the Secretary of Howard University*

Eight-Year-Old Winner

Miss Bobbie Jeanne Anderson, who wins the Grand Prize of Twenty-Five Dollars ($25.00), was born October 2, 1931. She has an olive complexion, black eyes and dark brown hair. She is four feet tall and weighs sixty-five pounds. Her parents are James and Betty Anderson. Mrs. Anderson is a

SUMMARY	1st's (6 Pts.)	2nd's (5 Pts.)	3rd's (4 Pts.)	4th's (3 Pts.)	5th's (2 Pts.)	6th's (1 Pt.)	Total
Bobbie Jean Anderson (1)	..	2	..	..	..	..	10 ($25)
Robert Daigre Baranco (2)	1	..	..	1	..	..	9 ($10)
Dorothy Mae White (3)	..	..	2	..	..	..	8 ($5)
James Madison Nabrit, III (4)	..	1	..	..	1	..	7 ($3)
Joyce Allene Harper (5)	1	..	..	..	..	..	6 ($2)
Gertrude Roberta Scott (5)	1	..	..	..	..	..	6 ($2)
Alphonso and Alonza Pinder (6)	..	..	1	..	..	..	4 ($1)

5th Prize—*Gertrude Roberta Scott, Henderson, N. C., is three years old. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Scott, 420 Rock Spring St. Mr. Scott is a chauffeur and Mrs. Scott is a beautician*

housewife; Mr. Anderson is a railroad employee. The Anderson residence is at 1202½ East 58th Place, Los Angeles, California.

The Judges

The judges for THE CRISIS Beautiful Child Contest were E. Simms Campbell, noted artist, White Plains, N. Y., Dr. Myra Logan, New York, N. Y., and Mme. Sara Spencer Washington, president of the Apex News and Hair Company, Atlantic City, N. J.

Reproductions of the front page photograph of Miss Bobbie Jeanne Anderson of Los Angeles, the Grand Prize Winner, may be secured from THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by sending ten cents in coin or stamps to cover the cost of printing, mailing and postage.

These reproductions will be suitable for display in nurseries and classrooms.

5th Prize—*Joyce Allene Harper, Phoenix, Ill., is a little over 6 years old. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Harper, 15342 Fifth Avenue. Mr. Harper works for the Burlington Railroad and is editor of the Railroad News*

TWO POEMS

By WALTER G. ARNOLD

Question

Does the sun ever in setting,
In ridding the world of light,
Not cause some poor heart to grow tearful
Of the dark of the coming night . . .

Or can one break off from his loved ones
And go on his chosen way
Without taking with him in his going
The light of some life away?

Life

Life
Can be two dreams,
So loosely bound together
That, even after one has been
Completely shattered,
The other still
Lives
On . . .
Or
Life can be
A thousand dreams . . .
So closely and delicately woven
That when but the smallest
One is shattered . . .
Then the whole
Thing
Dies.

These Things I Love

By JANETTA HAINES

I love the sound of wild night winds
That tear their vagrant ways through chartless seas;
And, too, I love long golden summer days,
Humming birds, calves, and buzzing bees.

I love fireflies at dusk; an open fire,
Long hours of gray and softly dripping rain;
Small sheltered pools where frogs may cry;
Soft glow of candlelight on a window pane.

A song at the day's end, small bits of cloud,
Darkness quietly settling across the land.
The remoteness of hills; a soughing pine,
With a star for a lantern held high in its hand.

6th Prize—*Alphonso and Alonza Pinder, Miami, Fla., are twins of nine and a half years. Their father Joseph Pinder, 825 N.W. Third Avenue, is a barber, and their mother is deceased*

Phi Beta Kappa at 16

J. ERNEST WILKINS, JR.

Although only 16 years of age and only three and one-half years in college, J. Ernest Wilkins, Jr., received his bachelor of arts degree in mathematics with honors from the University of Chicago last month at the summer convocation. In addition, Wilkins had enough graduate credits to insure his getting the master of arts degree in December.

Son of Attorney and Mrs. J. Ernest Wilkins, of Chicago, young Wilkins last June was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, the outstanding national honorary scholarship society, twenty-five years after his father had been similarly honored at the University of Illinois. He was also among the first six ranking students in the national mathematics contest sponsored by the Mathematical Association of America and open only to the brightest minds from all leading universities.

Together with fine scholarship, the young mathematician has found time to play on the varsity table tennis team of the university for three years, and to win the university championship two years. He was also boys' state champion in 1938.

Following the Wilkins' tradition are two other brothers: John R., was graduated from Englewood High School in June at the age of 14 and will enter the University of Wisconsin this month, while Julian B., will graduate next year and is headed for the University of Chicago.

Poetess Honored

In recognition of the definite contribution she has made in the field of American lyric verse in the recent publication of her noteworthy collection of poems, *Lisping Leaves,* the Eugene Field Society, a national association of authors and journalists, has admitted to honorary membership, Ida Rowland, Langston University's brilliant, young instructor in sociology and psychology.

IDA ROWLAND

One purpose of the Eugene Field Society, as set forth in its Charter, is to "furnish an opportunity for social contacts between men and women who have interest in things cultural and literary."

On February 14, 1940, John George Hartwig, national president of the society, wrote to Miss Rowland that "the literary skill and craftmanship of your published works entitle you to honorary membership in the Society, and I am, therefore, pleased to advise you that we will (subject to your approval) enter your name on the roll of Honorary Members and issue a certificate of Honorary Membership." On the list of honorary members are found the names of such prominnt literary figures as Robert Frost, Mark Van Doren, Edgar Lee Masters, and Nicholas Murray Butler.

Looking first into her own heart and then out upon the great enigma of life, Miss Rowland set herself down in the prairies of Oklahoma and wrote a significant piece of creative literature, acclaimed by reviewer after reviewer and finally by an outstanding organization of her fellow penmen.

The eighth child of a poor Oklahoma farmer, Miss Rowland had to stop school early to go to work. She completed high school in night classes while serving as a maid in a private home. Ambition pushed her on to college. She worked her way through the University of Omaha receiving her A. B. and A. M. degrees. Her scholarship standing was sufficiently high to admit her to membership in the Alpha Kappa Delta National Honorary Scholastic Sociological Fraternity.

Louise Thompson Elected a Vice-President of the I.W.O.

Miss Louise Thompson, who for seven years acted as organizer, then National Recording Secretary, and later as Secretary of all English-speaking lodges of the International Workers Order, was elected one of its vice-presidents at the recent Fifth National Convention held in New York City.

Widely known as an organizer and leader, Miss Thompson was born in Chicago and reared in the far west. She received her Bachelor of Science

(Continued on page 297)

LOUISE THOMPSON

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Democracy in Brownsville, Tenn.
***Courier*, Pittsburgh, Pa.**

WHILE President Roosevelt has been expressing his indignation over aggression in Europe and Asia, and Secretary of State Hull has been endeavoring to organize hemisphere resistance against the onward march of totalitarianism, democracy has been taking a severe beating in the little town of Brownsville, in Secretary Hull's native Tennessee.

The "trouble" started in Brownsville, when Negroes urged by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, inquired about their right to vote in the coming November presidential election.

The "trouble" got well under way when a half-dozen colored citizens were driven from their homes by mobs, and 33-year-old Elbert Williams was lynched for wanting some of the rights and privileges of United States citizenship.

The "trouble" still exists in Brownsville, because the N.A.A.C.P. branch dares not hold a meeting, despite constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly.

Among those colored citizens driven from Brownsville, Tenn., is a preacher of the Gospel, Reverend Buster Walker.

Another Brownsville citizen who quails in fear in a secret hiding place in another town, is an active N.A.A.C.P. member, Mr. Elisha Davis, who owned and operated a filling station until the mob drove him away from his ill wife and seven children.

The "trouble" in Brownsville also prevents any Negro newspaper from being sold there, and no strange Negroes are permitted to remain in the city.

Owing to this "trouble" which has reduced many of the affected Negro families to want, the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. in New York is appealing for funds for the relief of these refugees who are in just as much need of help and protection as any of the refugees in Holland, Belgium, France, China, Poland or Ethiopia.

There is nothing very unusual about this picture of democracy in Brownsville, in Mr. Cordell Hull's home State, especially to those who recall the fiendish lynchings in Memphis and Dyersburg.

Nor is there anything unusual in the silence of President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull about this latest example of frightfulness in democratic America.

But there is something definitely wrong about a so-called democratic government that froths at the mouth about frightfulness and terrorism abroad, yet has not a mumble of condemnation for the same sort of thing at home. Messrs. Roosevelt and Hull might at least have commisserated the grieving family of Elbert Williams.

Democracy means the right to vote for or against the politicians who are in or want to get in office, or else it means nothing at all.

The Negroes of Brownsville work hard, pay taxes and help to make the town what it is, such as it is.

If Elbert Williams is not avenged, if Elisha Davis, Rev. Buster Walker and the other refugees dare not return to their homes, just because they sought to exercise their right to vote, then democracy has no meaning, is a grim and empty fiction, is a terrible jest.

No institution is stronger than its greatest weakness, and for this reason the Negro citizen remains the test of American democracy.

Unless and until every colored man and woman in this country is free to vote in all elections, high-sounding phrases trumpeted from Washington, will continue to fall hollowly upon the ears of intelligent people both here and abroad.

There are a thousand Brownsvilles in this country where Negrophobia enslaves democracy as effectively as the Nazi enslave liberty in Europe.

We wish the leaders of this nation would recognize this fact and make an honest effort to remedy a situation that underscores the "mock" in democracy.

. . . a government which freely gives to certain citizens the right to defend the nation while denying to others that same right is not a government controlled and impelled by the principles of democracy.

Why should almost seven thousand citizens of Oklahoma leave this state with the National Guard this week, and leave at the expense of the taxpayers, when only certain citizens and not all citizens, are eligible for guard service? Every informed person in Oklahoma knows that Negroes are not allowed to join the Oklahoma National Guard. Is such procedure a proper application of the democratic process? . . . Oklahoma City, Okla., *Black Dispatch*.

The United States should follow the example which Canada has set. Negro Americans should be allowed to participate in all branches of the armed forces on a basis of complete equality. The color bar is always ugly, but it is most hideous in the vital field of national defense. . . . Boston, Mass., *Chronicle*.

The thirtieth annual report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, just released is highly interesting reading for all people interested in the welfare of colored people in America. Especially is it interesting to colored people themselves since it shows that it is not impossible to surmount the obstacles of prejudice which direct the lives of colored Americans into narrow ruts and warp the minds of white Americans. . . . Louisville, Ky., *Defender*.

Conscription will work havoc with the buying power of Negroes. Already Negro business has a bankrupt market. The jobless millions of Negroes already offer the Negro professional men only a growing charge account.

If we believe that President Roosevelt is going to use the armed forces to break the lynch terror which so recently took Elbert Williams in Brownsville, Tenn., we black Americans can only say hurrah. If these forces were going to help the share-croppers driven off the land in Arkansas and Missouri, we could only amen. This would be a decisive American act. But we don't believe it will be done. . . . Chicago, Ill., *Defender*.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Norfolk Victory

ARGUMENT of the appeal in the case of Melvin Alston versus the School Board of Norfolk, Va., was heard in Asheville, N. C., on June 13 by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the fourth district. Alston charged the Norfolk board with enforcing a discriminatory salary scale for teachers based on race and color. Judges Parker, Soper and Dobie listened to the two-and-one half hour argument from both sides. Dean William H. Hastie and Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP legal staff argued for Alston. The court took the case under advisement.

On June 18 Judge John J. Parker, speaking for the court, issued an opinion reversing the decision of the Norfolk district court in dismissing the complaint of Alston. The unanimous opinion decided (a) the question of the equalization of teachers' salaries which had been held unconstitutional because discriminatory, stating: "This is as clear a discrimination on the ground of race as could well be imagined and falls squarely within the inhibition of both the due process and the equal protection clauses of the 14th Amendment"; (b) whether Negro teachers had a standing in court to raise these questions, the court stating: "As qualified teachers holding certificates, they have rights as above indicated which are not confined to the contract of the current year, i.e., the right to apply for positions in the future and to have the Board award the positions without unconstitutional discrimination as to the rate of pay."; and (c) whether the teachers waived their rights by signing contracts, which the court dismissed with the statement that: "If this were sound there would be no practical means of redress for teachers subjected to the unconstitutional discrimination. But it is not sound. . . . If the state may compel the surrender of one constitutional right as a condition of its favor, it may, in like manner, compel a surrender of all. It is inconceivable that guaranties embedded in the Constitution of the United States may thus be manipulated out of existence." Several minor procedural points were also decided in favor of the Negro teachers.

Blow to Discrimination

This is the first decision by a federal appellate court on the broad question of the unconstitutionality of salary differentials established by state agencies on the basis of race or color. The decision as to the alleged waiver of constitutional rights by the signing of contracts destroys completely the effort of many of the states to circumvent the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Norfolk case was financed by the Virginia Teachers Association. In addition to Attorneys Marshall and Has-

Philadelphia PANCA's, who reported twenty memberships or more in the annual membership campaign of the Philadelphia Branch NAACP.

First row, reading from left to right: Mrs. Marie Caldwell, Mrs. Margaret Fortie, Miss Elise Buncombe, Mrs. Marjorie Anderson, Mrs. Maude Bowser, Miss Susan Masseaux, Mrs. E. Finch Morris, Miss Jennie Jones.

Second row, reading from left to right: Mr. Herbert Miller, Mrs. Beulah H. Creditt, Dr. Harry J. Greene, president of the local branch; Mrs. E. B. Pressley, Mrs. F. Rodriques, Mrs. Leslie T. Smith, Dr. William Cousins, Miss Frances Gardner, chairman of the local Youth Council; Mr. Richard Winston, Mrs. Susie Washington, advisor of the local Youth Council; Captain Benjamin E. Ammons.

Third row, reading from left to right: Mr. Arthur T. Lee, Mrs. Agnes Upshur, Mr. Kenneth Kearsey, Mrs. Mary L. Oakley, Miss Rosa Pitts, Mrs. Sadie B. Anderson, Miss Gretchen James, chairman of the membership committee of the Philadelphia Branch; Mr. Waverly White.

Fourth row, reading from left to right: Mrs. Florida B. Williams, Mrs. Hattie Simpson, Mrs. Gladys Thomas, Mr. John Battiste, Mr. James Philippe, Mrs. Katie M. Greene, Mr. Bunyan Mills, Mr. Leonard Haines.

PANCA's not included in the picture are: Mrs. Marie M. Davis, Mr. Samuel Beamon, Mrs. Rita Burton, Miss Harriet Conway, Dr. Thomas Georges, Miss Nellie Freeman, Mrs. Grace Hobson, Mr. W. G. Wingate, Mr. G. James Fleming, Mr. Lydian Bass.

tie, Leon A. Ransom, NAACP Legal Committee, and Oliver W. Hill, Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches, appeared in the brief on the case.

Other cases to equalize teachers salaries in Louisville, Ky., the State of Alabama, and the State of Florida are being started.

In contrast to the treatment given Miss Aline Black, who sued the Norfolk school board for equal pay with white teachers in the spring of 1939, Mr. Alston was offered a contract by the board of education for the school year 1940-41.

The University of Tennessee case involving failure to admit six Negro students to classes was scheduled for argument in the chancery court in Knoxville, Tenn., on August 16.

Brownsville Terror

From a river near Brownsville, Tenn., on Sunday, June 23, was fished the body of Elbert Williams, NAACP leader who had braved the ire of local whites by engaging prominently in the local campaign to get Negroes to vote. Two other NAACP leaders, Rev. Buster Walker, president, and Elisha Davis were run out of town. Every known pressure has been brought by local whites to discourage Negroes from voting.

Appearing at the Philadelphia NAACP Conference in Tindley Temple in Philadelphia on June 21, Rev. Walker raised $155.47 from the delegates to start a defense fund, after telling his story.

F. D. R. Sent Mob's Names

To President Roosevelt and the Department of Justice the NAACP sent on July 1, the names of the leaders of the mob of sixty whites who drove seven leading Negroes out of Brownsville, Tenn., following the "off-the-record" lynching of Elbert Williams.

The names included those of two bank officials, several police officers, a state highway commissioner, and several merchants.

Elisha Davis, one of the refugees, appealed to the country, through the Association, for funds to help his ill wife and seven children. Davis owned and operated a filling station.

Dean William H. Hastie, chairman of the NAACP legal committee, conferred with O. John Rogge, Assistant U. S. Attorney General. Walter White conferred with U. S. Attorney William McClanahan at Memphis, during his investigation of the terrorism.

Officers are posted on all highways leading into Brownsville, turning back all Negroes who do not live there.

F. B. I. Investigates

On July 12, Assistant Attorney General Rogge notified the NAACP: "You will be glad to know that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been requested to make a thorough investigation of violations of civil liberties of Negroes in Brownsville, Tenn.

PANCAS, Pittsburgh branch. They each secured twenty or more memberships in the annual N.A.A.C.P. membership campaign. Front row, left to right: Mrs. Estelle Blank, Mrs. Edna Vaughn, Mrs. Lena M. Hughes, campaign chairman; Garfield Baldock, Panca president; Mrs. Homer S. Brown, Director Women's Division, and Mrs. Sue Corsey. Second row, left to right: Lee Basil, Panca secretary; Mrs. Mamie Cash, Mrs. F. A. Nelson, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Walker, campaign secretary. Third row, left to right: Benjamin Corsey, Leonard Hardy, E. E. Utterback, Roland Sawyer, F. A. Nelson, J. H. Umstead, J. J. Jones. Not appearing on the photograph: Mrs. Marie Robinson, Mrs. Cordelia Kidd, Mrs. Bessie Walker-Lynch, Panca vice-president; J. E. Phillips, and Charles Kindle

Some of the models at the garden party given by the Allied Social Agencies at the Philadelphia NAACP Conference

Before the resolutions committee of the Democratic National Convention on July 12, appeared a committee of five, headed by NAACP secretary, Walter White, demanding a strong plank on the Negro and describing in detail the Brownsville terror and the "off-the-record" lynching of Elbert Williams.

To the White House on July 19 went another telegram to President Roosevelt protesting the Brownsville terror and asking that immediate steps be taken to wipe it out.

Negro Planks

To the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention an NAACP committee offered planks urging inclusion of Negroes in the armed services; passage of a federal anti-lynching bill; legislation abolishing the poll tax and white primaries; abolition of color line in employment; equitable distribution of federal monies to states to aid education, health, housing, relief, farm aid and other services; extension of social security to agricultural, domestic and casual labor; abolition of the color line in federal government posts; enforcement of civil rights laws in all sections of the U. S.

Committee members were Charles S. Houston of Washington, D. C.; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City, Okla.; A. Maceo Smith, Dallas, Tex.; and Irvin C. Mollison, Chicago, Ill.

Defense Color Bar

Late in July the Association urged the new Roosevelt Cabinet appointees, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and Secretary of Navy Frank Knox, to remove all discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces.

On August 8 the Association urged 75 U. S. Senators to "give proper consideration to the rights of Negroes" in the pending debate on the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill. Its letter cited the numerous discriminations against Negroes existing in the present Army-Navy administrations.

Following Association protests to President Roosevelt against new War Department regulations designating the

Dean William H. Hastie speaking at the John M. Langston Law Club luncheon

At the Philadelphia Conference. *Left: Arthur B. Spingarn, NAACP President (center), shakes hands with Dr. Harry J. Greene who introduced him on the opening night. Attorney Raymond Pace Alexander looks on. Center: Charles Edward Russell and Mary White Ovington. Right: Attorney Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago and Walter White, NAACP Secretary*

369th Infantry, New York National Guard, and the 8th Infantry, Illinois National Guard as "colored," the War Department backed down. According to a letter of July 27 from Major General Emory S. Adams, the Department's regulations "have been amended so that the term 'colored' will not be used as an inseparable part of a colored unit's designation." Denying that these National Guard units were to be made labor outfits, General Adams declared that the 369th Infantry was to become the 369th Coast Artillery (Anti-aircraft) on Sept. 15, 1940, with increased officer personnel from 48 to 60, while the 8th Illinois Infantry (less 3rd Battalion) might be converted into a 155-mm. howitzer or gun regiment.

Barkley Bucks on Mob Curb

On July 26 the Association again requested U. S. Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky to set a date for debate and vote on the pending Wagner-VanNuys Capper-Gavagan anti-lynching bill, reminding him of his pledge before Negro delegates to the Democratic national convention in Chicago that, "the anti-lynching bill will be voted upon before Congress adjourns."

In his reply to this request, Senator Barkley flatly cold-shouldered the Association, refusing to do anything to bring the federal anti-lynching bill up for a vote on the Senate floor, denying that he had ever made the statement attributed to him by responsible newspaper reporters, and citing the urgency of the defense program as a further obstacle.

Barkley's attitude will undoubtedly interest Kentucky Negro voters.

Protest

Late in July the Association protested to Stewart McDonald, Administrator of the Federal Housing Administration against FHA authorities in Dover, Mass., for pushing racial discrimination via "protective covenants."

Branch News

California: The Los Angeles branch, Thomas Griffith, president, has made its own awards for outstanding work among Negro screen actors. At a ceremony at the San Francisco Fair, Bill Robinson was master of ceremonies when the "Oscars"—ebony statuettes—were presented to Hattie McDaniel, Louise Beav-

Mayor Fiorella H. LaGuardia of New York, Hon. Herbert E. Millen, Ass't Director Philadelphia Department of Public Safety, and NAACP President Arthur B. Spingarn

Awarding the Spingarn Medal. *On Wednesday June 19, 1940 at the Philadelphia N.A.A.C.P. Conference, the Spingarn Medal, awarded to Dr. Louis T. Wright, was accepted by Mrs. Wright. Left to right; Barbara Wright, Mr. Spingarn, Mrs. Wright, Jean Wright and Dr. Cecil*

ers, Ben Carter, Willie Best, Ernest Whitman, Clarence Muse, Eddie Anderson (Rochester), Theresa Harris, and young Cordell Hickman. The Hall-Johnson choir received a special award, and Bill Robinson also was honored for his contributions.

The Salinas branch entered a float in the Colmo del Rodeo in July for the first time. Theme of the float was patriotism, with red, white and blue trimmings.

District of Columbia: At the July meeting of the D. C. branch, it was announced that three new members on the executive committee are: Mrs. Ruby Hawkins, John R. Bates, and Roy Garvin. Delegates to the Philadelphia conference reported on special phases. Mrs. Alma Hastie spoke on the emphasis given the question of political activity and gave summaries of the main speeches. Mrs. Willa Ransom reported on the general activities of the conference and made recommendations that the national office set up definite procedures to govern chairman, protect the voting rights of delegates, and other steps to prevent confusion during the closing business session. Mrs. Gertrude B. Stone spoke on the convention sessions which dealt with the Negro in the field of organized labor and Dr. Marshall covered the theme of public health. The branch has continued its efforts to secure criminal action against Vernon O. Deus, capitol police officer who shot 10-year-old Fred Walker. The legal committee is cooperating with Attorney George E. C. Hayes in the defense of Clarence Blocker under indictment for the killing of a police officer. Mr. Hayes is serving without remuneration and the branch is endeavoring to raise a fund sufficient to cover court costs.

Illinois: Dr. H. M. Smith, director of the Chicago Baptist Institute, was guest speaker this summer for a meeting sponsored by the recently-revived Chicago Heights branch of which Mrs. Estelle Ballenger is president.

Indiana: The Gary branch met in July to outline plans for its job placement program. The purpose of the program is to place Negroes in the employ of those businesses which nave an appreciable Negro patronage. The Gary Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance is actively cooperating with the branch, reports Attorney Harry Schell, president.

The Evansville branch held its July meeting on the lawn of the Community Association, at which time Robert Anglin presented his report on the national convention. The labor and industry committee has been making an employment survey.

The Hammond branch recently had the pleasure of passing resolutions expressing appreciation and approval of the election of Dr. Dennis A. Bethea to membership of the staff of St. Margaret hospital, as an indication of the growing spirit of tolerance in the community.

Iowa: Dr. Paul A. Peterson of the Wesley Methodist church addressed the August meeting of the Mason City branch. E. W. Bails of Hampton, and Miss Rennetta Martin gave short talks, and Edwood Bails gave a vocal solo.

Michigan: The Lansing branch sponsored a mass meeting in July, at which time president J. McKinley Lee, Sr., denied the charge of Lee Bierce, secretary of the public debt commission, that the Association is dominated by the Communist party. The branch said that a number of people had been duped into signing petitions to put the Communist party on the state ballot.

Minnesota: A reception and program was given in July by the Duluth branch in honor of graduates and students of the 1940 classes. The high school grads honored were Jeanne Bates and William Thomas. Entertaining were Mickey Beasley and the Duluth Civic Band of 40 men. Timely and interesting addresses were made by Henry Berkhammer, Mrs. Vienna Johnson, and R. J. Simmons, president of the branch. Mrs. Miller and Henry Williams were in charge of the reception and program, respectively.

New Jersey: The Elizabeth branch assisted by alumni of Battin and Jefferson high schools entertained graduates of the junior and senior high schools in July.

The Montclair branch recently gave a tea for its friends at the Y.W.C.A. and after that was busy preparing for the state conference August 24.

The senior Morristown branch has resumed its Fall activities with a meeting of the executive board at the home of Rev. A. Smith, president.

Dean Pickens was principal speaker at a public mass meeting conducted by the New Brunswick branch in the latter part of July, at the Mt. Zion A.M.E. church.

A large gathering attended the meeting held by the Newark branch to discuss the need of adequate police protection in the city. Mrs. Gladys Jones Bell was chairman,

Information Desk, Philadelphia Conference. *Left to right: Miss Ruby Trimble, Robert Ming and Miss Amyre Roach of Detroit, Mich., Miss Gladys Companella and Mrs. Phyllis Berry, Philadelphia*

assisted by Dr. J. LeRoy Baxter, president. Among the speakers were Mayor Ellenstein and Rev. Dr. James H. Burks, Rev. Curtis T. Wilcher, Rev. M. C. Waters, Rev. L. B. Ellerson, Rev. James C. Nelson, Rev. Charles C. Weathers and Rev. J. H. Slade. Most of the speakers were representatives of the New Jersey Baptist Ministerial conference, the Essex County Medical Association, and other civic and social organizations.

New York: Dean William Pickens was principal speaker at a meeting for the organization of a Hempstead, L. I. branch in July.

In a National Poll of Popular Sentiment conducted by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, New York, more than four million votes were cast with an 89 per cent plurality in favor of the passage of the Geyer anti-poll-tax bill. The bill would make poll taxes for Federal elections illegal. Ballots were sent to organization in 35 states with a request that the question on the ballot be discussed at a meeting and that the results be tabulated, and returned. Participating groups were carefully chosen to reveal a truly representative opinion. NAACP branches participating in the poll were: Sacramento and Needles, Calif.; Wilmington, Del.; Pensacola and Jacksonville, Fla.; Augusta, Ga.; Chicago, Ill.; New Bedford, Mass.; Detroit and Saginaw, Mich.; West Side Youth Council, Detroit, Mich.; St. Paul, Minn.; Louisiana, Mo.; Peekskill, New Rochelle, and New York, New York; Durham and Rocky Mount, N. C.; Allen County, Canton, and Kent, Ohio; Tahleguah, Tulsa, Boswell, and Paul Valley, Okla.; Portland, Ore.; Midland, Pa.; Florence, S. C.; Memphis and Nashville, Tenn.; and Kingsville, Texas.

Pennsylvania: The Altoona branch held a mass meeting at the Mt. Zion Baptist church, the latter part of July, at which time Rev. Leonard Bruce of Tyrone was the speaker. A program was rendered by Robert Scotland, Mrs. Sally Harris, Herbert Robinson, Helen Whiting, Miss Roxy Harris, and Mrs. George Walker.

Texas: Under the leadership of Leon Fisher of Overton, members of the Tyler branch have been busy on their east Texas drive. With the aid of Longview, Kilgore, Marshall, Henderson, Overton, Arp, Jefferson, Troup, Athens, Nacogdoches, Corisciana, Lufkin, Jacksonville and other east Texas communities, the group has worked to raise defense funds to fight primary laws in the state. Their slogan is "The man without a vote is the public's goat."

Virginia: Encouraged by the recent Federal Court decision relative to the Norfolk, Va., case, the Danville branch has been fighting for an accredited county high school. At present there are sixteen county standardized high schools for whites and none for colored.

Brief details of the Richmond branch membership campaign, as promised in a previous issue are here presented. The memberships almost reached the 1300 mark, with the Northside team, headed by Mrs. Odessa Randolph and Mrs. H. V. Braxton, surpassing its quota. Eight public schools and Virginia Union reported 100 per cent memberships, as did also two professional groups, the dentists and the pharmacists. Also reporting 100 per cent were the Afro-American, Richmond Undertakers Association, Booker T. Theater, Consolidated Bank and Trust Co., the Phyllis Wheatley branch staff, National Ideal Benefit Society staff, I. O. St. Luke staff, Richmond Beneficial Insurance Co. district office, and North Carolina Mutual home office. Outstanding workers in the campaign were Mrs. Lottye H. Lewis, Mrs. Salina White, and Henry Harris.

West Virginia: The Wheeling branch, of which Rev. Bernard Ross is president, and Prof. J. H. Rainbow, principal of Lincoln school, is chairman of the educational committee, has received its charter from the national office.

Wins Peace House Award

James Egert Allen, president of the State Conference of N.A.A.C.P. Branches in New York, teacher in the New York public schools and associate editor of the Kappa Alpha Psi Journal was awarded the prize of one hundred dollars for the best descriptive essay on the Fifth Column in the United States by the Peace House at a meeting held recently. Mr. Allen read his essay and then was handed a check by Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram, head of the peace organization located at 110th Street and Fifth Avenue. In the article an urgent appeal was made to drive out the Fifth Columnists through "An aroused America dedicated to the principles of peace or soon we will be listening to the death knell of American sons as they carry down with them the civilization that is now tottering on the brink of destruction."

Recently, Mr. Allen was one of the prize recipients in the Town Hall essay contest on the meaning of Americanism.

CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by the 31st Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, June 18-23, 1940, in Session at Tindley Temple, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

June 22, 1940

Democracy has been virtually wiped out in other parts of the world since last we met. It is gravely threatened in America. The forces which would destroy it come not only from other lands but the soil for forces which threaten democracy's existence have been well prepared by three centuries of denial of democracy and of decent humane treatment of the Negro and other minorities in the United States.

Adequate defense to repel invasion from without is necessary. But equally important, is the strengthening of the democratic process within our borders so that all who reside here may feel that they have a vital stake in democracy because of the benefits of that form of government are given to all Americans without discrimination on account of race, creed or color.

To that end the thirty-first annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P., in convention assembled in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, respectfully resolves:

I. NATIONAL DEFENSE

National defense adequate to protect our

(*Continued on next page*)

EDWARD S. PORTER

Radio Fan

One of the growing number of U. S. colored amateur radio operators is 18-year-old Edward S. Porter of Montgomery, Ala., who operates Station W4GAG. He talks regularly with operators in 44 states in this country, and with Canada, Australia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, and the South Seas. He is a recent graduate (1940) from high school and is eager to talk with more colored radio operators and anxious to get into aviation.

DR. B. E. HOWELL

Heads Dallas Branch

Dr. B. E. Howell, top flight surgeon and President of the Dallas N.A.A.C.P. has been prominent in civic affairs since graduation from Meharry Medical College. Aside from his N.A.A.C.P. work, he is Vice President of the Negro Chamber of Commerce, Deacon and Chairman of the Trustee Board of the Good Street Baptist Church, and General Chairman of the Moorland Branch YMCA fifth annual campaign for members.

Conference Resolutions

(Continued from page 295)

country from encroachment by totalitarianism based upon brute force and racial bigotry is imperative.

The N.A.A.C.P. despises and will continually fight against the spirit of Hitlerism, its denial of democratic rights, its assertions that Germans are a master race and all other races slave races, its contempt for religion, its ruthless suppression of minorities, and Hitler's personal denunciation of Negroes as half-apes and his proposal to deny to them all opportunities for higher education.

In arming ourselves psychologically and materially against Hitlerism and other forms of totalitarianism we must not allow the spirit of Hitlerism to make gains at home. We must declare to our representatives in Washington that the preservation of democratic rights in the United States, efforts to preserve and gain equal opportunities for all, irrespective of nationality, race, color, or religion, in our armed forces and in domestic activities; and above all making democracy real and important to every inhabitant of our land by guaranteeing to all a decent standard of living, are as necessary a part of our preparedness program against totalitarian dictatorships as are additional armaments.

We will do our part and more to defend our country and its principles. We are equally determined to make our country and its practices worth defending. We are alarmed that even at a time of national peril, the forces of bigotry in our army, navy, and other defense units continue racial discrimination against Americans who seek to serve their country.

Negroes are barred from the air corps and most of the other branches of the service. Even those who seek to enlist as privates are barred. There is at the present time only one Negro officer serving with combat troops. Not a single Negro has been called from the reserve officers' corps and Negro regular army troops have not in recent years been taken on army manuevers.

We call upon the President as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Congress, the press and the public to put an end to this dangerous and treasonable discrimination. We insist that Negroes on the basis of their ability be integrated into every branch of the armed service without discrimination or segregation. The same integration without discrimination must occur in industrial mobilization and in all training for combat and for home service.

II. MOB VIOLENCE

For thirty-one years the N.A.A.C.P., often as a lone voice crying in the wilderness, has warned America of the dangers of unrestricted, unrebuked and unpunished mob violence. It has urged and worked for federal legislation against the most flagrant expression of mob violence—lynching. Three times federal anti-lynching legislation has passed the House of Representatives. Twice a filibuster has defeated the bill in the Senate. In 1940 the moral cowardice and lack of determination on the part of the Senate leadership caused that leadership to surrender spinelessly to the threat of a filibuster led by a small minority of the Senate which has almost invariably fought all enlightened legislation. This cowardice regarding the federal anti-lynching bill is in marked contrast to the promptness with which a federal kidnapping bill was passed. As long as this cowardice continues, the people of America will be justified in believing that the federal government is eager to protect the wealthy and their children, but is indifferent to the fate of men in overalls who furnish practically all of the victims of lynching mobs. The problem of lynching and mob violence has been brought sharply into focus during recent weeks when the law has been taken into their own hands by mobs ranging from Maine to Texas, to punish persons suspected of various offenses. Every one of these acts lessens the effectiveness of the federal and state governments in maintaining law and order during dangerous times such as those in which we are now living. Selfish and sinister forces will undoubtedly utilize this condition for their own dishonest and disloyal purposes. It is therefore of the utmost importance that Congress stop its weak and vacillating course on anti-lynching legislation and that it no longer permit a minority of the Senate to lynch the rights of the Senate, the Constitution, and human decency. We insist on the immediate passage by the Senate of the anti-lynching bill and uncompromising resistance to a filibuster.

III. POLITICAL ACTION

The presidential election of 1940 presents a solemn responsibility and an unparalleled opportunity to American voters to choose wisely those who shall direct the affairs of our nation during the next four years. Particularly important is the Negro vote throughout the country and especially in the seventeen states with 281 electoral votes in which the Negro potentially holds the balance of power. We reaffirm the political independence and non-partisanship of the N.A.A.C.P. We urge upon Negro voters a most painstaking scrutiny of the records of all candidates who present themselves to the electorate from the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States down to state, county and municipal officers. We reaffirm our position that there is little meaning to party labels. We urge intelligent, unselfish use of the ballot to the end that the best persons qualified may be elected to office, irrespective of party, to guide our destinies during the perilous days ahead.

We reaffirm our uncompromising opposition and pledge our maximum efforts against all methods of disfranchisement, including the poll tax, the barring of Negroes from so-called white primaries, intimidation of voters by lynching mobs, or any other means. We urge particular attention to these negations of democracy to Negro voters in states where there are no such barriers to voting, to the end that their less fortunate brethren in states where there is discrimination may be given maximum assistance. In this connection, we cannot too firmly recommend the passage of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill now pending before the Congress of the United States.

IV. GOVERNMENTAL APPOINTMENTS

During the past year those in authority have been urged to appoint qualified Negroes to representative policy-making administrative and other positions. Among such recommendations have been appointment of qualified Negroes as judges of federal courts, as members of such administrative agencies as the Civil Service, labor, aid to tenant farmers and sharecroppers and other agencies where they cannot only help to lessen and to wipe out discrimination but also make valuable contributions to the fulfillment of the democratic process. We deplore the failure of those in authority to heed such recommendations in most instances. We reaffirm our insistence that color should no longer be a bar to service to the government.

V. EDUCATION

Notable progress has been made during the past year in carrying forward the fight for equal educational opportunity in the matter of teachers' salaries, equal per capita expenditure, and the opening of the doors of opportunity for education without discrimination in institutions established and supported by federal and state tax moneys. But only a beginning has been made. The results to date have in a large measure been made possible by the unparalleled cooperation of lawyers and other public-spirited persons. We pledge ourselves to renewed effort in support of these struggles in the courts of law and of public opinion to the end that all discrimination in tax-supported educational institutions may be eventually wiped out.

VI. PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICE

We record our pleasure at the action of the United States Senate in its passage of the Barbour and Wagner-George amendments to the Federal Hospital Act which prohibits discrimination on account of race, creed or color and insures equitable distribution of the federal moneys appropriated by that Act for hospitals in areas too poor to build and maintain hospitals. We urge speedy passage of this Act by the House of Representatives.

We reaffirm our support of the broad program of federal aid to health as envisioned in the Wagner bill, provided there are included amendments against discrimination on account of race, creed, or color. While the Hospital Act is important, it remedies but a small segment of the broad and basic needs of national health which can and will be adequately handled only by federal aid.

VII. LABOR UNIONS

The N.A.A.C.P. believes that labor unions are a necessary and valuable method by which workers of any race or color can protect themselves against exploitation by the owners of industry, and can gain a higher standard of living and greater leisure in keeping with the increased output made possible by modern machine and production.

We condemn the efforts of reactionary members of Congress and other public and private agencies to utilize the present world and national situation to emasculate the Wages and Hours act, the National Labor Relations act, and other acts of Congress designed to protect industrial workers in their rights to bargain collectively and to secure and maintain decent wages, hours, and working conditions.

We applaud the slow but steady growth of consciousness of American workers towards the realization that white labor will never be free until all labor is free. We deplore the continued short-sightedness, however, of certain labor unions such as the Railroad Brotherhood and other unions which by constitutional provision, ritualistic practice or other means bar workers from membership because of race, creed, or color.

We call upon the Congress to enact an amendment to the National Labor Relations Act which would prohibit any union which habitually discriminates in this fashion after January 1, 1941, from being designated as the sole bargaining agency of workers in any given industry. Labor unions which ask that they be not discriminated against must come into court with clean hands.

VIII. ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS

Throughout certain sections of the United States Negroes are denied their full citizenship rights in flagrant violation of the Civil Rights Acts of the United States Code. During this session of our national conference,

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Louise Thompson

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from the University of Berkeley. She has taught in the State College at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and Hampton Institute. Awarded an Urban League Fellowship, she studied at the New York School of Social Work.

In 1930, she went to work with Hubert C. Herring, Secretary of the Department of Social Relations of the Congregational Education Society, where she helped to promote an interracial seminar which took a group of outstanding Negro and white citizens through the South. Later she went to Mexico as part of the staff of the Seminar in Mexico conducted by the same organization.

Girl, Colored

(Continued from page 284)

emphasis. "You'll get up 'bout nine then and have your breakfast, won't you, if you get a girl?"

"Yes," Mrs. Clark said eagerly. Then she looked hard at Carrie. She bit her lip and patted the curlers on her head. Carrie snorted audibly.

"Of course, if it'll be too much work for you," Mrs. Clark said waspishly, "I can get a German girl to do it."

The back of Carrie's resentful resistance was broken. She rolled her eyes about the kitchen, seeking some tangible evidence of the competitor whose spirit held nebulous hands at her throat.

"You say you can get a German girl?" she asked uneasily.

"Yes." Mrs. Clark pulled hard at her lip with her even teeth.

Carrie was silent. She did not think for a moment that Mrs. Clark had not already interviewed the omnipresent German girl.

"It's very simple," Mrs. Clark went on. "You see, there are quite a few impoverished refugees in this country now. They can't become public charges so they are very eager to work."

Carrie nodded dumbly. She did not trust herself to speak.

"I think it's wonderful the way they look for work right away after landing in the United States," Mrs. Clark continued, warming to her fantasy. "I've already talked to one of the refugees."

"What'd she say?" Carrie turned miserable eyes on her tormentor.

Mrs. Clark cleared her throat. "She said she'd let me know."

"She didn't think it was too much work for five dollars a week?" Carrie asked in a low voice.

Mrs. Clark looked taken aback. "Why," she stammered, "no."

"I was just wondering."

Carrie looked at the dishes on the table. She saw the smear of childish fingers around the woodwork. She remembered the mussed living-room.

"I don't see how her decision affects you," Mrs. Clark said slyly.

There was an unexpected hint of hardness in her voice that alarmed Carrie. For the first time she wondered if the German girl were not a bogey set up to frighten her by this wily woman. She shook her head and decided to take no chances.

"What about the baby?" she asked, her voice respectful.

"He's no trouble at all," Mrs. Clark said indulgently. "He's only four."

Carrie nodded wearily. "What would you expect me to do exactly?"

"After breakfast," Mrs. Clark elaborated, "there'd be the cleaning. I would expect you to do the marketing. I have a light lunch. In the afternoons you could rinse out a few pieces and do a bit of ironing. Dinner is usually about six-thirty. So you see you could have some free time between lunch and dinner if you got your other duties finished up. Of course, you'd have to take the baby out in the afternoons. After dinner your evenings would be free. Sometimes there is mending to be done. That would take one or two of your evenings a week."

Her recital finished, she waited for Carrie to speak. Carrie's throat was dry. She did not trust herself to do more than croak if she managed to get her mouth open.

"Would you give a day off a week?" she ventured finally.

"Oh, not a whole day," Mrs. Clark said quickly. "Just one afternoon a week. One day a month would be satisfactory."

"Oh." Carrie lifted her shoulders in a weary hunch. "There ain't much I could do with a day off every week nohow," she said philosophically, "if I ain't gonna be making but twenty a month."

There was a sighing silence into which Carrie's spent breath and Mrs. Clark's anxiety issued like desperate winds.

"Would I have a nice room?" Carrie asked after the pause.

Mrs. Clark rose, victorious, then sat down again. "Before we go that far," she said, "I'd like to see your references."

Carrie pulled a thin packet of letters from her purse. She passed them over silently.

"They're very flattering," Mrs. Clark said when she had finished reading.

"They ain't flattering," Carrie retorted. "They're the gospel truth. I worked hard for every word wrote on that paper."

Mrs. Clark rose hastily. "Your room's this way," she said.

They left the kitchen, and Carrie followed her upstairs to a little, box-like room. It was bare except for a bed and one chair.

"The last place I worked had a radio," Carrie said unreasonably.

"It did?" Mrs. Clark asked in surprise. She straightened her shoulders. "I don't approve of servants having too many advantages."

"I b'lieves you," Carrie said shortly. She walked around the room "The floors ain't bad," she volunteered meaninglessly.

"It's a very nice room," Mrs. Clark said defensively. "It could be home."

(Continued on page 301)

Until the Final Man

PAULI MURRAY

We have no other dream, no land but this.
With slow deliberate hands the years
Have set her image on our brows.
We are her seed. Our roots have pierced
Her soil and we have borne a fruit
As pure and native as unblemished cotton.
And shall we walk subdued and reverent
here?
Or play the witless jester for a mirth
So quickly thinned to jeers when one of us
Whose anger fed too long upon his brain
Is fuel for a deadlier flame?
Are we so soon beguiled, our senses dulled
We have no hunger, no thirst for freedom
But are content with husks of beggars
Feeling no shame to call them sweeter
Than grain full-ripened on the ear?

* * * *

Oh, brown brothers, freedom is but to
stand
Erect from earth like stalwart trees
That rear defiant heads against the wrath
of storms,
Roots wed with earth, deep-dwelling;
To grow independently as leaves,
Each from its own bough,
Absorbing sunlight to itself;
To rise in formless mists,
All heaven to take shape in,
And to return distinct and separate as
raindrops;
To know the vast equality of sands upon
the shore,
To each in time the wave returning.

* * * *

Then let it be the quest of all our days,
The fevered pounding of our blood,
The measure of our souls—
That there shall be no rest in any land,
And none return to dreamless sleep,
No heart be quieted, no tongue be stilled
Until the final man is free
To stand in any place
And thrust his shoulders to the sky,
And mark each living soul for friend and
brother.

Conference Resolutions

(Continued from page 296)

our attention has been called to a most flagrant violation of the civil rights and liberties of members of the Negro race in that on or about the 15th day of June, 1940, several Negro citizens who attempted to exercise the right of suffrage in Brownsville, Tenn., were driven out of town. We call upon the United States Department of Justice to take the necessary steps to secure full enforcement of the present federal statutes prohibiting the denial to citizens of the United States, their rights as guaranteed by the constitution and laws of the United States, and that investigation be made immediately of all the facts in connection with the Brownsville, Tenn., affair. We also call upon the Department of Justice, or any of its agencies, to investigate and prosecute members of the Ku Klux Klan, vigilante committees and other organizations and groups which under the guise of patriotism, anti-sedition and peonage activities, intimidate, threaten, subject to physical violence or otherwise infringe the constitutional rights of citizens. We urge all branches to seek the enforcement of these laws through the local United States attorneys and the federal department of justice.

We also wish to advise our conference that in the District of Columbia, Negroes are denied service in places of public accommodation and we endorse the Civil Rights Bill introduced by Congressman James Seccombe of Ohio. H.R. 8896, to make such denial and discrimination punishable and actionable. We urge our branches to aid the disfranchised citizens of the nation's capital to secure this remedial legislation by urging upon their respective congressmen and senators support of this Civil Rights Bill for the District of Columbia.

IX. DISCRIMINATION IN WPA

Gross discrimination against Negroes in the matter of denial of work opportunities under the Works Project Administration has resulted from the use of state and local agencies influenced by local racial prejudices for the selection and certification of persons eligible for relief. The transfer of this function to federal officers would be a valuable first step toward elimination of this discrimination.

Therefore, be it resolved that this conference favors and urges the improvement of certification procedure for WPA employment by the transfer of the function of selecting and certifying eligibles from local to federal officers.

X. HOUSING

In view of the deplorable housing conditions existing among Negroes in urban centers and rural areas, and in view of the great social interest in adequate housing facilities for all persons, we request the Congress of the United States to pass immediate legislation calculated to relieve this acute situation.

We recommend the passage of the $500,000,000 to $800,000,000 Housing Bill which has been introduced ir Congress.

We oppose the priority rights of employment given to labor unions that discriminate against citizens on account of race, color, or creed, on housing and other federal projects.

XI. EXTENSION OF SYMPATHY

Be it resolved that the N.A.A.C.P., which is struggling for the full freedom of colored Americans, extends its sympathy to the peoples of Norway, Denmark, France, Holland, Belgium, Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia, who today are being subjugated by the totalitarian governments of the world. And to the Ethiopians, Czecho-Slovakians and Poles who have been enslaved in the labor armies of Germany and Italy whose governments are functioning on the basis of a master race, we extend our great sympathy and understanding.

We hope that the people of these countries will soon have their freedom restored.

XII. WAGES AND LABOR

While we believe in the basic principles of the wage and hour law, we at the same time realize that an overwhelming majority of the Negroes of the United States are engaged in these activities that are excluded from the benefits of the existing law. We believe the Congress should extend the provisions of the wage and hour law and Social Security legislation to include domestic and agricultural laborers.

We believe further that the federal government should eliminate from the WPA and other relief setups vicious regional wage differentials, and that in the allocation of federal funds for highway and other purposes, provisions should be made that no discrimination should be made on account of race, creed or origin in the administration and expenditure of said funds.

XIII. YOUTH

Youth Needs

Young people today struggle in a world which gives little to them but a cold shoulder. Even skilled and unskilled young people find that opportunities are lacking for them to use their training and education to help the community and to earn a living.

Colored youth are subject to all these difficulties plus the added one of race discrimination in all opportunities to make a living.

We, therefore, on behalf of the youth of the nation in general and colored young people in particular pledge ourselves to a vigorous and continuing campaign to improve educational opportunities for training, education, employment, and recreation of young people. We further indorse the following resolution as proposed by our youth councils in convention to be sent to the President of the United States:

"We, the youth delegates of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People assembled in our 31st annual conference, speak out in behalf of youth in America.

"We respectfully request a continuation of the support of the Bill of Rights and are against any curtailment of our constitutional rights under a guise of national defense.

"That we may further enjoy the rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, we respectfully urge that you give your endorsement to the passage of the following bills pending before Congress: the Anti-lynching Bill, the Gever Anti-Poll Tax bill, and the American Youth Act."

XIV. TEXTBOOKS

We deplore the textbooks furnished in our public schools which either ignore the valuable contributions made by Negroes or else contain vicious and perverted statements about them. We urge that this glaring injustice be speedily remedied by effective legislation or statute so that the children of America may know the truth concerning ten per cent of its population.

XV. SHARECROPPERS AND TENANT FARMERS

We deplore the disadvantaged position of sharecroppers, tenant-farmers and small farm owners, both black and white, in our nation today. The problems of these classes weigh especially heavy upon Negroes.

We note with approval, however, the excellent work of such groups as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union which for the first time has been able to convince the tenant farmers of the South that the position of whites and blacks alike is identical and that common action is necessary to alleviate their distress.

We urge that the federal government give full attention to the plight of these groups and that the program to remedy their economic and social conditions be continued and expanded.

XVI. SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS TO PHILADELPHIA

WHEREAS, the Philadelphia Housing Authority has named its housing project at the corner of Glenwood and Ridge Avenues in the City of Philadelphia in honor of James Weldon Johnson, be it

RESOLVED that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its 31st annual conference assembled express its deep appreciation of this timely recognition of one of America's greatest citizens and the N.A.A.C.P.'s beloved Secretary and Vice-President.

In expressing this appreciation the conference especially commends the fact that this project is not a segregated one but is open to all Americans regardless of race, creed or origin.

XVII. APPRECIATION

We wish to express our appreciation to the Philadelphia branch of the N.A.A.C.P., its officers and various committees; to the clubs and to the agencies; to the minister, officers and members of Tindley Temple M.E. church; to the board, staff, and members of the Southwest Y.W.C.A., and to the weekly and daily press for the gracious hospitality which has been extended to our conference as a body and to the delegates individually.

(Signed) *Resolutions Committee*

Arthur B. Spingarn, New York
Alfred Baker Lewis, Boston
Hubert T. Delany, New York
John Hammond, New York
Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City
Isadore Martin, Philadelphia
William H. Hastie, Washington
Leon A. Ransom, Washington
Louis L. Redding, Wilmington, Del.
L. Pearl Mitchell, Cleveland
Eardlie Johns, New York
Dr. J. Leslie Jones, Baltimore, Md.
Mrs. L. B. Michael, Asheville, N. C.
Carl Johnson, Kansas City, Mo.
Prince Clark, Detroit, Mich.
Rev. J. W. Carter, St. Petersburg, Fla.
W. W. Wimbush, Baton Rouge, La.
Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago
Christopher F. Foster, Richmond, Va.
Edward B. Jourdain, Evanston, Ill.
Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., Los Angeles, Cal.
Dr. David W. Anthony, Princeton, N. J.
Mrs. Estella Blanks, Pittsburgh, Pa.
A. W. Wright, Cheraw, S. C.
C. W. Rice, Houston, Texas
Stanley Evans, Detroit
Mildred Alexander, Boston
Marguerite Carson, Springfield, Mass.
Yolanda Barnett, Louisville, Ky.
Gwendolyn Feaster, New York

Book Reviews

SABLE SOLONS

THE NEGRO IN CONGRESS: 1870-1901. By Samuel Denny Smith, Ph. D. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. XIII+160pp. $2.50.

In this book the associate professor of social studies in the Mississippi State College for Women addresses his scholarly attention to the political careers of the twenty-two Negroes who served in Congress during and after the Reconstruction period. Our author's scholarship seems to be impeccable, for one detects few downright errors, and he has made wide use of the best sources, which is in keeping with the standards of modern historiography. His appraisals of individual Negro congressmen also seem fair and judicious, yet the total effect of his book is one of disparagement. The reader is left with the impression that the Negro in Congress was a political interloper who would have been much better off it he had stayed in his own bailiwick working unobstrusively with sympathetic whites tor the uplift of his people. In his conclusion our author states that these Negroes in Congress accomplished little and that they should have confined their "efforts to other vocations" where they had a better chance of success.

This presumed indictment of the Negro congressmen is at bottom merely an arraignment of the American politician, and especially of the southern mountebanks who seem to get themselves elected to Congress with such startling frequency. One even today searches the *Congressional Record* in vain for progressive social and economic legislation sponsored by southern congressmen. When a southern congressman introduces a sensible bill he is likely to become a nine-day wonder in Senate cloakrooms and to be voted out of his job by his constituents in the very next primary. Most of our laws are made by amateurs and they seldom show any burning desire to serve the whole community. With these facts in mind it seems strange that our author should reach the conclusion that the Negro congressmen he studied were failures. It is true that they were partisan. The South was opposed to Negro freedom and was trying to re-enslave them, so naturally they turned to the G.O.P. and voted with their party. They were usually pro-Negro because they couldn't be pro anything else. They wanted the cooperation of the best whites but these whites refused to have "truck" with Negro officeholders. Some of them were corrupt, but not more so than their white colleagues. Many of them were of meager education, but, then, so were many of their Nordic colleagues. The only way our author can determine that these congressmen were worse than their white colleagues is to compare them with their southern white contemporaries. This he does not do. He does not even offer us a background for such a comparison. And our author is on very shaky ground when he states that "the local and state governments of the seceding states were, to a large extent, in the hands of Negroes." He offers no proof of this. Using the 1880 Census he can find in the entire South only twenty-five counties where the Negroes were in a majority. Even the Negroes elected to Congress served only brief terms, which is strongly suggestive that the local Negro "boss" was often more of a stooge than a real power.

As I have said before, our author's portraits of individual congressmen are fair and judicial. Often he does no more than catalogue, but he does give us rather extensive sketches of John M. Langston, Hiram K. Revels, Robert Brown Elliott, Blanche K. Bruce, John R. Lynch, Robert Smalls, J. E. O'Hara, and Henry Plummer Cheatham. The racial stock of these men, that is, whether of pure Negro or mixed blood, is mentioned and due notice taken of their educational qualifications and their manners. He lists the committees on which they served in Congress, the bills they introduced, some of the bills for which they voted, their relationships with their white colleagues, and, in some instances, their social life while in Washington. In commenting on Mrs. Bruce's social tact our author sneers: "She was tactful enough to avoid any racial and political quarrel, such as occurred in Washington a few years ago," which is evidently a reference to Mrs. DePriest.

The language of this book is that of the scholarly historian, but the idiom is that of the unreconstructed Southerner who seems startled at the idea that a Negro should ever have had the audacity to set himself up as a candidate for Congress because it is not within the province of Negroes to rule white men.

JAMES W. IVY

THREE POEMS

By VIOLET G. HAYWOOD

To One Who Has Crossed the Line

I see the blackman climbing ever up.
The way is hard and steep and rough and long
And hot blood from his weary, bruised hands
Falls on my upturned face like tears.

A neighbor seeing asks, "Why so you weep?"
I shake my head and smiling turn away.
He must not know that though my face be white
My fathers were as black as Africa's night.

(Alas! This is the reason that I weep—
I was afraid to climb a hill so steep)

Poem

So black, so awesome is this night I gaze into
What secrets or what promise does it hold?
I too am black—black even as that night is—
And Oh! my weary heart, it is as old.

The small things of this earth do fear that blackness
Hard, hard, they try to turn it into light
Perhaps—perhaps they fear me too
For I am called the child of night.

Poem to Night

Night, black mysterious,
What man is there who knows
The thousand secrets wrapped
So safely in your breast?
Or who can tell so well
The inmost souls of men as thou?

Night,
Mother of the stars that shine
As they have shone for ages past
Upon a sleeping world,
Should time unlock your lips
What would you say, Oh! Night?

COUNTER-CLOCKWISE: a Novel of Human Values, by John M. Lee. New York: Wendell Malliet & Co. 104 pp. $1.50.

This novel has two claims to uniqueness. It is the first novel issued by the only Negro publishing company in New York. It is the first novel written by a Negro author who contrasts the social phenomenon of 'passing', or the attempt of a light-colored Negro to escape membership in an under-privileged racial minority, with that of the endeavor of a workingclass white to rise to a higher social class and jettison all the domestic and other ties which normally bind the individual.

The two characters whose actions are used to illustrate and intensify the contrast are named Helen and Liom. Helen, who is colored, is married to a white man whom she does not love; she 'passes' at her job, though it is not quite clear how she carries on the usual social relations outside employment. That is a weakness of the novel. Liom's antecedents are in the urban white working-class; her parents are Swedish immigrants; the father is a drunkard, and the mother is a slattern; the moral condition of both is due to the squalor in which they are compelled, by economic necessity, to live. Liom is the only beautiful girl in a family of grotesquely ugly girls, and for that reason she is envied by her mother and her sisters. Until she reaches her majority, she is the Cinderella of the family. She grows up with the single-minded resolve to cut all the ties—fetters—which bind her to her family.

Liom secures a job at the same place where Helen is working. They become friends, and later live in the same rooming house. Both have something to conceal from the world: Helen hides her race, and Liom her social origins.

It is perhaps best to tell only that much of the story, which holds the reader's interest as in a vise while it is being unfolded. The interest lies in the fate of the two girls after Herbert, a young man, meets Liom and enters her life. Then the complications of both kinds of 'passing' arise.

In my judgment, Mr. Lee's solution is somewhat defeatist, in the case of Liom, who dies. Helen is merely another version of the 'tragic mulatto', who, as Professor Sterling Brown shows in THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN PROSE FICTION, has haunted American literature since the earliest days of the anti-slavery moovement. Hers is even the hackneyed solution of 'returning to the race', to face reality; in view of the numbers of persons with a slight admixture of Negro blood who 'pass' annually into the white race, her conflict seems unreal throughout the novel. Her return even appears to be an unwarrantable concession to existing prejudices.

WILLIAM HARRISON.

WHO IS JOHNNY? by Leopold Gedo translated by Kate Seredy. The Viking Press. $2.00. New York.

This is without doubt the most interesting and charming book ever written about a colored child. It is to be highly recommended to Aframerican mothers for their youngsters. The author, unlike so many who try to write about Negroes, has no feeling of condecension, no slightest blight of race prejudice. He frankly admires his subject.

One gets a refreshing picture of what a Hungarian sees in Aframerica to admire. He is aware of this great vivacious, extremely romantic group of people who under tremendous handicaps has produced artists, writers, musicians, scientists. One gathers this between lines because Mr. Gedo shows all the innocent enthusiasm of the person who has not been reared in an Anglo-Saxon society where, with mother's milk, prejudice is imbibed in order to justify the oppression of the Negro. A Hungarian does not have to justify his own position and what a relief this is!

The story, briefly, is about a Negro lad of fourteen who as an infant was left in a foundling home in Budapest. He is adopted by a peasant woman, Aunt Mary, who fondly hopes he will "fade" a little in complexion during the winter. Jani does not fade and Aunt Mary thinks Uncle Gergely, who is a shepherd, better take him. The two are very happy together and would have remained so but Jani gets the wanderlust. He longs to know who he is. Is he a Turk or a Gipsy as the children say? Uncle Gergely provides him with money and advice and Jani sets out on his adventurous trek through Central Europe.

Jani rescues friends from jail, discovers who his mother was, makes lifelong friends of policemen and their children, gets dancing lessons from a great dancer, gets himself in trouble with a theatrical promoter, gets himself and two pals out of trouble and dances himself into the hearts of all. Rudi, his best friend and accompanist on the harmonica, and Sandro, the Italian strong boy, travel with Jani and the three are as loyal and gay as youth can be. They end up at the Olympic Games in Berlin where Jani discovers his brother and returns to America with him.

JOSEPHINE SCHUYLER.

"Forêts de symboles . . ."
"Forests of symbols . . ."
Baudelaire

AN AMERICAN IN AUGUSTLAND. By Elliott Coleman. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. 82pp. $2.00.

This book describes poetically a sensitive intelligent American's reaction to England's reaction to the Nazi invasion of Poland last September. This reaction, however, constitutes only one-third of the book because the other two-thirds are devoted to conventional lyrics reminiscent of the *Poems of Elliott Coleman* (Dutton, 1936), and a ballad on "The Thorns of Somerset." The last two-thirds of the book are written in conventional verse form, but the first section, "An American in Augustland," employs a technique which reminds us, with its disparate images, of T. S. Eliot. What seems to concern an "American in Augustland" is the startling, almost peverse dichotomy, between the natural and artificial beauty of the English countryside as contrasted with the feverish preparation of Britain for war. The outward calm of English life is contrasted with her convulsive inner fear in a series of sharply etched images.

> There a perilous company;
> A look of inhumanity
> That was almost human.
> It was in the faces, fighting with a crawling of resemblance to the dead.
> It was in the voices, that tried to say what we could understand.
> It was in the voiceless, faceless, moveless thought,
> Frozen hard and breathing on the heart.
> It was fear.
> Fear in restraint, fear in frivolity, fear in the tolerant foreign self-pity,
> Fear in the talk of the better conditions.
> It was more than the fear of death,
> It was fear of something worse than death;
> It was partly the fear of being afraid.
> It was more than the fear of nothingness,
> It was partly the fear of life out of hand;
> That was as near as you came to it.
> With a penetrating eye our poet sees that:
> This is Augustland, and you will find
> Preserved resemblance to a gigue of Bach;
> But it will taste to you like walnut rind
> Although it starts and pauses by the clock.

Beneath the *décor* of English life, her democratic institutions, her fairplay, lies the horrible reality:

> Land of the blundering desperation, all
> Of her crimes come home to cackle, yelp and hiss
> Over her slums and her committee rooms. The pall
> Of the lifted paw, and the wing. And she knows this.

For whether England wins the War or not, the England of Pitt and Gladstone and Churchill was signed away when the French on the afternoon of June 22, 1940, in the Forest of Compiègne, signed the Armistice with Nazi Germany. The irony is that England, the English ruling class at least, helped Nazi Germany to her present power. England acquiesced in German rearmament and refused to take steps to stop it; she signed an Anglo-German naval treaty which gave Germany command of the North Sea; she persuaded France to capitulate to Germany in March, 1936, when Germany occupied the then demilitarized Rhineland; she betrayed Ethiopia, and sold Czecho-Slovakia down the river; she was hostile to the Franco-Soviet pact; she made non-intervention in Spain a mockery; she encouraged Belgium to break her alliance with France; and she made Poland come to terms with Germany. Such is democratic justice! "Di guistizia orribil arte," observed Dante: "Where of justice is displayed contrivance horrible."

> It is hard to look at the picture album,
> China, Austria, Ethiopia, Spain,
> Albania, Czechoslovakia.

Nor can a Negro forget that England is the fountainhead of the present almost worldwide colorphobia. Ever since her monopoly of the African slave trade, England has come to feel that the colored race of the world are the "lesser breeds without the law." Therefore, it is doubly hard for an intelligent Negro to feel any qualms over England's present predicament. England may be "hanging on a little, to the hope that was lost, leaning forward into war," but the exploited darker races of the globe must be surely hanging on to deeper hopes.

Whether Mr. Coleman's poetry of the present crisis is great poetry or not is unanswerable at the present, but it is certainly significant poetry of a piece with the Spanish Civil War poems of Federico Garcia Lorca, Pablo Neruda, and Langston Hughes.

JAMES W. IVY

WINS FIRST AWARD AT EXPOSITION

Winner of first award in oil painting at the American Negro Exposition is "Man With a Brush," by Frederic Flemister of Atlanta, pupil of Hale Woodruff. The original, richly done in brilliant colors, attracted wide attention

Girl, Colored

(Continued from page 297)

Carrie looked at her searchingly. "Madam," she said with dignity, "one little room like this couldn't never be home 'less it was in the house of your loved ones."

"There's a table down in the basement," Mrs. Clark said, ignoring Carrie's remark, "that could be brought up here."

"What about a bureau to keep my clothes in?" Carrie asked. She walked to a closet in one corner of the room. "This ain't got no shelf space," she said, looking in, "for me to use."

"You'd have to use your suitcase."

Carrie sighed. The woman knew that she needed the job, and that she would like it. She was too weary to gamble on finding pleasure in upsetting all of Mrs. Clark's calculations by refusing to stay. She could not face the thought of taking the long, fruitless ride back to Harlem.

"You satisfied with my references?" she asked fearfully.

"Your references are satisfactory," Mrs. Clark said, enigmatically stressing the second word.

"You mean you got some doubts about me personally?" Carrie asked meekly.

"Well," Mrs. Clark informed her, "you understand that I must satisfy myself on every score. After all, you'll be coming into constant and close contact with my child."

"Did the German girl satisfy you?" Carrie asked, almost whispering.

Mrs. Clark nodded slowly. "They really work well," she said. "They don't ask for anything but the chance to make an honest living."

"I think I'd like it here," Carrie said quickly, hating her haste. "If it's all right with you, we could call it settled."

"All right," Mrs. Clark said indifferently. Carrie's released breath rushed through her trembling lips. "I think we can call it arranged. Can you begin working immediately?"

Carrie's face broke into a reluctant smile. She was working again.

"Right away," she said. "But I'll have to go up to Harlem tonight after dinner and pick up my belongings."

"You can't go tonight," Mrs. Clark said coldly. "My husband and I are going out after dinner and you'll have to stay with the baby."

"Oh."

Mrs. Clark read the disappointment on Carrie's face. She breathed deeply and smiled inscrutably.

"I know it's difficult for you to make quick adjustments," she said sweetly. "Perhaps I should hire the German girl after all. They don't have any ties in this country. They have fewer arrangements to make than you, for instance."

"That's all right, ma'am," Carrie said quickly. "I can 'tend to it tomorrow night just as easy."

Negro Cowboys

(Continued from page 281)

William Patton went to the Del Rio section of Texas from somewhere in the brush country of South Texas. He went with R. L. Nevil and T. M. Lease immediately after the Apaches were driven out of the Davis Mountains. He saved the money from his wages and bought a small bunch of cattle near the Rosillo Mountains, 60 miles south of Marathon, and later moved them to Lower Torlinqua Creek. There his herd grew to nearly six hundred head. Twenty years ago he sold his cattle and moved to Rel Rio, where he lives and has enough money to keep him comfortable for the remaining years of his life. He is unmarried.

Dave Gill is a Negro rancher that lives in Hudspeth County, Texas. He is approximately 54 years of age and is very well educated. He has about 2,500 acres of land under fence; and another three sections on which he grazes approximately 2,000 wool producing goats and some white face cattle. He also has a patent right from the State of Texas to take water from the Rio Grande River for irrigation purposes. The cotton yield on his acres averages 700 to 900 bales per year and he also gins his cotton and that of his neighbors. Another product of his farm is alfalfa. His farm implements are worth $5,000 and he raises hogs that weigh as much as 1,000 pounds. His home is said to be one of the largest, best and most beautiful of the ranch homes in Texas. His ranch is 70 miles east of El Paso and he does his trading in that city. The county clerk of Hudspeth county conceded these statements to be the truth.

This story would be incomplete without the record of "D. W. (80 John) Wallace," whose name has spread throughout the entire cattle and meat packing industry. Horatio Alger, and all of the success stories have no more ring to them than the story of our Negro Brother "80 John."

"D. W. 80 John Wallace" lives three and a half miles south of the town of Loraine in Mitchell County, Texas. The "80" prefix to Wallace's name comes from the fact that he came into that section of West Texas riding in the dust of the drag of a herd of Clay Mann's cattle, which had burned on their sides the numeral "80" from backbone to belly. Wallace was born in Victoria county, Texas, of slave parents in 1860 and was drawing wages as a cowhand when he was fifteen years old. At seventeen he made a long ride from Victoria through the Indian country to the corners of Runnels and Taylor Counties near the present site of Buffalo Gap. His first job was with the late Sam Gholson, Indian fighter and cowhand. He worked for Gholson one summer and then started with the N.U.N. outfit. After staying with them for sixteen months, he joined Clay Mann's outfit, which was locating South Texas Cattle on a ranch near the present site of Colorado City, Texas.

"80 John" stayed with the Mann's for fourteen years, during that time he saw every phase of open range work, trail drives to Kansas and later to railheads in Denison, Gainesville and Ft. Worth. He saw the T&P railroad laid into the west and Colorado City grow into a thriving town and shipping point. He worked for many of the cattle barons of the west, among whom were Winfield Scott, Gus O'Keefe, the Slaughters, Buck and Tillar, Sug Robertson, the Ellwoods of Spade Ranch fame, the managers and bosses of Scotch and English owned ranches to the northeast.

By 1885, Wallace was able to put his savings into the section of land that he now has his home on, but he continued to ride with the herds until the country passed from the cowmen to the stock farmer.

He kept his ears open as he worked around the corrals and camp fires and from the information he had so gathered he continued to buy until he finally owned twelve and a half sections of land. He also bought between five and six hundred white face cattle. Today he has twelve hundred acres of this land under cultivation and his home is an eight room modern ranch house with all the latest appliances. His barns, lots and corrals are the best. As severe as the depression has hit most cattlemen, Wallace still stands on his own, with not a lien or a mortgage on land or cattle and he even owes no tax bill. In addition to this he has recently bought two more sections of land paying cash for them. Wallace has been a member of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association for the past thirty years and attends its conventions regularly. He is well known throughout Mitchell county, is a member of the pioneers' organization of that section and is a financial advisor to most of the people in the county, Negro and white. A real representative of the old west, and a black cowboy.

(Continued on next page)

Negro Cowboys

(Continued from page 301)

Now, who can say that black men were not and are not really cowboys in the traditional style as we know them? These are real men of whom I have written, whose records can be checked as closely as the pedigreed cattle they tend. And we have just barely skimmed the number and achievements of these men. They, Negro cowboys, ranged all over the cow country from Texas to Wyoming. Bill Pickett, the famous bull dogger was known in Laramie and Cheyenne (Wyoming) as well as in his native Texas.

Prejudiced, though they may be, there isn't an old cowman who won't mention the achievements of these black boys when they gather, for after all the men on the range were good fellows and fair. Creed nor color meant little to them, it was only the best man who won.

I wonder if just a little pressure was put on Hollywood with the information we know now, whether in the long run we might not see the exploits of BILL PICKETT. We have here the basis for some real Americana.

Hi Yo Silver, The Black Cow Boy Rides Again.

Lynch Suicide

By Edward DeJoie Burbridge

He stood at bay
And watched the mob,
Slobbery-mouthed
For his blood,
Approaching.
Thought he,—
"I've entertained them
With my dancing feet,
Erected their buildings,
Built their bridges.
My wife has reared
Their children.
I've given them food
From the soil,
Some of their best
Inventions—
My God, they're not
Killing me—
They're killing themselves!"

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ENGLAND'S WEST INDIAN SLUMS

By GEORGE PADMORE

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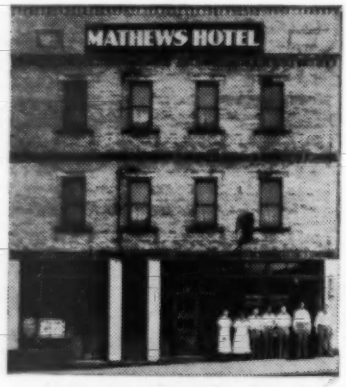

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